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ABSTRACT

The six-chapter book highlights the main issues and findings of the 1979 New Delhi Conference on Non-formal Education for Development. Chapter 1 defines non-formal education, discusses development needs, and discusses motivation at the political, operational, and participatory level. Chapter 1 includes two case studies of non-formal education in Tanzania and Botswana. Chapter 2 describes four target groups for non-formal education: children outside school, unemployed youth, adult illiterates and new literates, women and girls. It discusses vocational training needs of women, includes case studies, and describes Jamaica's JAMAL Program. Chapter 3 discusses program planning for non-formal education, curriculum development for school-aged children, methods and media, and training for policy makers and planners. The chapter presents a model curriculum for non-formal education of village children. Chapter 4 discusses the research and evaluation of non-formal education using traditional research, action research, and participatory research. Chapter 5 uses four case studies to discuss operational problems of non-formal education. Chapter 6 discusses the coordination, resources, and financing of non-formal education. In addition to a complete list of conference papers, a bibliography includes suggestions for further reading about the subject. (SB)

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Participation, Learning and Change

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PARTICIPATION
LEARNING
AND CHANGE

Commonwealth approaches to non-formal education

An edited version of papers
prepared for the Commonwealth Conference
on Non-Formal Education for Development

Prepared with a commentary by
PAUL FORDHAM

JAN 1984
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FOREWORD

Success in the promotion of new ideas in education is often a factor of timing. When the Commonwealth Ministers of Education met in 1977, 'non-formal' alternatives to formal schooling were already a subject of growing importance. There was also a need to understand those alternatives and to assess their place in the whole process of national development. Among other things, the Delhi Conference on 'Non-Formal Education for Development' (1979) was designed to enhance this understanding.

As it turned out, the Conference did much more than increase understanding. The 'non-formal' idea had reached a firm 'take-off' point; already there is evidence that the ideas generated by the Conference are beginning to affect policy and action in a number of Commonwealth countries. As Paul Fordham notes in chapter one, 'the non-formal idea has come of age'.

However, it was not merely the timing of the Conference which contributed to its success. There was general agreement that the quality of the Conference papers was very high and this crystallized into a demand that they be made more widely available than was possible at the Conference alone. In responding to that demand, it was agreed to produce a book based on them rather than simply reproduce the papers. This has meant that partly to avoid repetition, a few papers have had to be omitted which on grounds of quality alone would certainly have been included. Roby Kidd's thoughtful piece on 'A China Plant and an Indian Cane', perhaps the only comparative study so far of the non-formal education systems of these two countries, falls clearly into this category. Some papers have been included only in part while others have been used to develop linking commentary and analysis. Yet all were important and each has made its unique contribution to the book as a whole. They are listed in full on pages 212 and 213.

A word about the scope of the Conference and consequently this book: the proposition that non-formal education is for development and development is for people—all the people—would have presented an immeasurable scope of discussion. At the very outset, therefore, the Conference limited itself to the consideration of development as it relates to the improvement of the overall standard of living of the most needy sections of society—the deprived and the poor—and focused attention on the problems of rural areas, especially the unschooled and underschooled children of school age, adolescents and youth, adult illiterates and women—concerns which were reflected in the papers.

It has been no easy task to select, distil and weave into a coherent narrative, the material from 65 papers of this quality and hundreds of pages. We are grateful to Paul Fordham for undertaking so competently this task of highlighting the main issues put forward by the authors and linking them to the deliberations and findings of the Conference. The case studies add a most valuable dimension of experience to ideology.

In offering this book, it is our fervent hope that all who are engaged in education as a factor of development will find something new, something stimulating and something challenging in their various responsibilities and preoccupations.

Rex E. O. Akpofure
Director
Education Division
Commonwealth Secretariat
February 1980

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INTRODUCTION

The birth of the non-formal idea coincides with a fundamental review both of development strategies and of the educational policies which support them. Throughout the developing world, but also to a lesser extent in the developed countries, the 1970s have been characterized by a search for educational alternatives. For many educators the search has meant improving formal school systems—more relevant curricula, better pedagogy and more flexible use of teachers or physical resources: such improvements have made and will continue to make an important contribution. However, for an increasing number of development planners and of educators, educational alternatives now include a wide range of planned *out of school* educational programmes, often for adults, but also for the school-age left-outs and drop-outs of formal schools. It is this great variety of out-of-school alternatives which has come to be known as 'non-formal' education.

In many ways, 'non-formal' is a new label for long established activities. What is new is the realization that educational programmes formerly seen as rather separate—like agricultural extension or literacy campaigns or health education—must now be seen more holistically as the educative component of national development plans; only then will they make the maximum contribution of which they are capable. It was therefore timely that the Seventh Commonwealth Education Conference, held in Ghana in 1977, should recommend that a Commonwealth Specialist Conference on non-formal education should be held. In the event a conference on 'Non-Formal Education for Development' took place in New Delhi, India early in 1979 and a separate report of its deliberations has already been issued by the Commonwealth Secretariat under the title *Mobilizing Human Resources.*

One important effect of calling such a conference was to bring together an unusual range of talent and experience from all the major sectors of non-formal education. Not only that, but the Commonwealth itself, with its enormous variety of member countries, is uniquely able to provide examples of the whole range of world development strategies and of educational policies. The collective wisdom and experience of the delegates and resource persons at the conference have provided the essential raw material for this book. The conference papers and the conference discussions taken together give a more complete and more up-to-date picture of non-formal education than is currently available elsewhere.

What has been attempted here is a distillation of this collective wisdom and experience into a readable narrative. Some of the conference papers are quoted in full: others are used as the basis for a discussion of the major current themes of non-formal education for development. Without the papers and the hard thinking that went into them, no book would have been possible. Without the Conference, their interpretation might well have been different. With the help of both, it is hoped that this book will provide both stimulation and guidance to non-formal educators in the important tasks which lie ahead.

Paul Fordham
University of Southampton
October 1979

CHAPTER 1

Non-Formal Education and Development

Non-formal education... is a part of the total educational system... But I believe that an even greater imperative is to integrate non-formal education with the development system. For me... there is an indelible link between non-formal education and development.

Malcolm Adiseshiah: Opening Address

The Non-Formal Idea

The idea of 'non-formal education'—as distinct from its practice—is a very recent phenomenon. Before the 1970s a book, or even a conference, about NFE would not have been possible because the term had hardly been invented. At an important international conference on 'Education, Employment and Rural Development' held at Kericho in Kenya in 1966, there was no mention of 'non-formal education'.[1] And yet, only two years later, Philip Coombs[2] was calling for much greater investment in 'non-formal' education and this was followed in 1973 and 1974 by two influential studies of the type of education needed to combat rural poverty;[3] these studies gave wide currency to the non-formal idea.

In these few years two things had happened. Firstly, there was growing dissatisfaction with the effects of formal school systems in relation to development goals; and secondly, fundamental changes were taking place in the definition of development itself. As the World Bank put it in 1974,[4] 'Questions of employment, environment, social equity and, above all, participation in development by the less "privileged" now share with simple "growth" in the definition of objectives (and hence the model) of development toward which the effort of all parties is to be directed. These changes have their counterpart in the education sector.'

Indeed, as the same paper points out, it would be unfair to blame formal school systems for the failure of development strategies in the

1960s. 'Education systems have been irrelevant to the needs of developing countries during the last two decades because education policies were often keeping company with overall development strategies which were themselves irrelevant to the societies and conditions of developing countries.' The non-formal idea is thus part of a widespread search for alternatives in education which is itself intimately bound up with changing conceptions of development.

The term 'non-formal' was given currency by development planners rather than educators. Existing terminology was seen as too narrow (e.g. 'adult education' is often confined to literacy or university extramural classes) while many of the more important programmes (e.g. farmer training schemes) were sometimes not seen as 'education' at all, even by practitioners themselves. What was needed was an all-embracing term for what at the 1966 Kericho conference were called 'educative services' to rural adult producers. As it gained currency, the term also came to include provision for the school-age drop-outs and left-outs of the formal system.

Of course, it is clear that we have had non-formal education for a long time although we have not had it so called. In many countries we still have a new label in search of a new structure, and professionals only beginning to find a new identity as non-formal educators. Nevertheless, the *practice* of non-formal education is as old as society itself, including, for example, the various initiation ceremonies which mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. In more recent times a whole range of educative services has grown up usually having roots in attempts to answer specific needs—better husbandry, better hygiene, or the attempt to increase awareness of current issues, are examples which spring to mind. All have now come to be regarded as 'non-formal education'.

As is shown by the various country papers prepared for the Delhi Conference, many of these specific programmes have been developed over a period of years as discrete activities, often promoted by separate ministries or voluntary agencies. But it is only recently that they have come to be seen as part of a unified developmental or educational process. In The Gambia, for example, there are records of non-formal education from the 1940s 'as a way of teaching rural people... to read texts related to agricultural production, health care and community and social issues'. Agricultural extension education, in particular, has a long and honourable tradition in many Commonwealth countries. However, in spite of partial successes in the past, it is only with recent changes in ideas about development itself that non-formal education *as a whole* has assumed greatly increased importance in educational planning throughout the Commonwealth. The non-formal idea has come of age.

Formal Schools and Development Needs

Although it would be quite wrong to blame educational policies for the failure of past development strategies, it must be recognized that the non-formal idea is to some extent a reaction against formal school systems. The faith shared by most educators and politicians in the 1950s and 1960s about education as a major instrument of social or economic development has been considerably eroded. In his paper on 'Structural Change and Transformation', Kazim Bacchus points out that:

> The budgets allocated for education in the developing countries have grown substantially over the past two decades. Their first, second and third level enrolments have increased by 211 per cent, 465 per cent, and 511 per cent, respectively between 1950 and 1970, and most of these governments now allocate between 20 per cent and 25 per cent of all their expenditure to education alone. Furthermore, despite its contribution in supplying qualified manpower for the small modern sector of these societies, formal education has not proved to be 'the key to modernization' and development as was once hoped. The earlier assumption of a direct relationship between the stock of highly educated manpower and the rate of economic growth, which underlies the Ashby Report on Higher Education in Nigeria and the writings of Harbison, has turned out to be more complicated than was originally envisaged. In fact, the evidence now seems to indicate that education has reached a point in many developing countries where it is making a negative contribution to their development. Already in many of these countries the products of the school system are finding it difficult to secure employment, giving rise to the growing phenomenon of the 'educated unemployed'. This problem has become so widespread that Turham observes:
>
>> Relative to the whole working population the *unemployed as a group in the developing countries tend to be better educated* especially where young and inexperienced unemployed are numerous. Thus there are often considerable differences in the rates of unemployment among labour force groups of different educational levels with *particularly low rates among the illiterate urban population.*[5]

Further, not only are those with no formal education less likely to be unemployed but, as the figures from India and other countries indicate, the average duration of unemployment among the illiterates is substantially lower than for those with some primary and secondary education. The 1964–66 Report of the Indian Educational Commission was partly concerned with this problem and with the 'unsuitability' (in terms of its relevance for the development goals of the nation) of the education which those attending higher education institutions were receiving when it wrote: 'the educated élite thus become largely parasitical in character and the real productive workers are the unlettered peasants and artisans'.[6]

In other words, the rate of unemployment does not necessarily decrease with an increase in the level of education. Since in many developing countries illiterates are more likely to be employed than those with some primary and secondary education, development planners are already rethinking the desirability of expanding formal education facilities yet further.

Another expectation of formal education which is being frustrated is its role in creating a more egalitarian society. The evidence available in the economically more developed countries seems to indicate that education is a poor instrument for achieving greater social equality. But it is true that in many Third World Commonwealth countries, especially during the period immediately following self government and independence, it was an important instrument for upward social mobility, especially among children of lower income families. This was so because a relatively large number of nationals had to be educated quickly to take over senior positions previously filled by expatriates. However, present indications are that these opportunities are being considerably reduced. This is partly due to the fact that the job market in the modern sector of these societies—in which the educated are normally employed—is not growing very quickly while the supply of educated individuals is increasing rapidly.

Bearing in mind the known relationship between the socio-economic background of parents, and students' access to and academic performance in formal educational institutions, it is obvious that most of the new and better paying jobs will be filled by the children of those who were originally promoted into the higher-level positions which became vacant when the expatriates left. This does not mean that the children of the poor in these countries are excluded from such posts, but in a tight job-market situation it is the children of parents with high socio-economic standing who are most likely to fill these jobs—a reversal of what happened in the immediate post-independence period. As writers like Jagdish Bhagwati have noted, recent studies have indicated that rather than being a general force for equality, 'the education systems of most developing nations act to increase rather than decrease their income inequalities.'[7]

Another factor which has motivated this shift in emphasis away from formal education is the general dissatisfaction with the usefulness of its content in terms of the development needs of the Third World countries. For example, primary schools have been accused of concentrating on preparing their students for the secondary schools—which most of them will not be able to enter. On the other hand they place little emphasis on passing on the knowledge, skills and dispositions necessary for these students to function efficiently in a rural environment, in which the great majority of them are likely to spend their lives. The overall result, as one development expert observed, is that there is the real danger that schools in the developing countries 'may continue to educate for poverty'.

Non-Formal Education as an Alternative

In the context of new development strategies, non-formal education is being viewed as more relevant to the needs of the population, especially for those in the rural areas working in the traditional sector, since it attempts to focus on teaching people to improve their basic level of subsistence and their standards of nutrition and general health. Because of this it is likely to make a more effective contribution than formal education in alleviating the real problems of the poor, especially the rural poor, who often make up 70–80 per cent of the population. Further, since the non-formal education process usually requires the participation of its recipients in determining the nature and content of the educational programmes, these will always tend to focus on the needs and priorities of the communities. In this way they will contribute more effectively towards helping participants to meet their development needs.

Finally, non-formal education is seen as more immediately productive since the learners acquire knowledge and skills which can immediately be put into practice, thus reducing the long gestation period which exists between formal education and productive employment.

However, this is the planner's view and it has yet to be generally accepted. It will be of little use to anybody if non-formal alternatives do not prove acceptable to the intended participants. And if they do prove acceptable, then those who feel comfortable with the *status quo* may well be made uneasy. For as Malcolm Adiseshiah observed at the Delhi Conference:

> Non-formal education . . . feeds back into our societies a rather grim and explosive power process by assisting the poor and down-trodden majority of the people to organize themselves so as to end the state of injustice in which they have been forced to live. We can call this 'dialogue and action', 'conscientization', or, as in India, 'redistributive justice'. No matter what term we use, non-formal education is people's power—the power to change society and make it move towards the paths of justice, tolerance, understanding and charity.[9]

The Case for Structural Change and Transformation

It is argued very powerfully by Kazim Bacchus that '*unless there is massive structural transformation in the reward system . . . non-formal education will never be fully accepted by the general populace and will remain no more than a peripheral activity in the field of education . . .*'[10] He points out that people everywhere 'know when they are better off as against when they are worse off' and that 'whenever they perceive the opportunity they will act rationally to improve their life conditions'. On the basis of these two statements one can assume that if the masses perceive real benefits accruing from non-formal education programmes for themselves or their families (and not just benefits which the educators try to tell them about and in which they might not be very interested) they will act rationally and want to participate in such programmes. However, unless radical transformation occurs, the financial benefits that are likely to accrue to individuals with formal education will continue to be considerably higher than those with non-formal education. If the latter is to become acceptable as an alternative, then the reward (income) system of developing countries will need early and radical change. He continues:

> To elucidate this argument one has to look more closely at the social and economic structure of most Commonwealth Third World countries. One of the major characteristics of these countries is a dualistic structure in their economic systems which is reflected in their reward systems. On the one hand there tends to be a relatively large and usually stagnant subsistence agricultural or traditional sector (the Green Revolution notwithstanding) and on the other, a relatively small modern sector which comprises their limited industrial and commercial activities, their civil service and their armed forces.
>
> The most marked feature of this dualism is the great disparity of income between those earning their living in these two sectors. Because of this phenomenon, Arthur Lewis referred to these sectors as the 'high wage' and the 'low wage' sectors while H. Johnson commented on 'the marked disparity of incomes in the centre and the periphery' of most developing countries, a fact which is partly reflected in the great inequalities in their income distribution. For example, if we look at the ratio of median salaries of secondary school teachers to per capita income in some of these countries and compare these with the economically more developed countries, we will get some idea of the the extent of this income gap. This ratio for Ghana (1961) was 14:1, for Pakistan (1962) 7·8:1 while for the United Kingdom in 1964 it was only 3:1.[11]
>
> Further, while the seeds of this dualistic wage structure were sown during colonial days, the gap has not been reduced even with self-government and independence but has instead widened over the past years. In Nigeria, Lewis noted that urban wages were typically 200 per cent higher than average farm incomes... Also in Kenya the average earnings of African employees in the non-agricultural sector rose by nearly 11 per cent per annum while those of small farmers rose by only 5 per cent per annum. The result was that in 1966 wages in the urban sector in Kenya were approximately 250 per cent higher than family farm incomes.[12]
>
> There are many reasons for this marked and increasing gap in incomes in these two sectors which cannot be discussed here. But two of the important ones are the increasingly adverse terms of trade which the Third World has experienced against the First World and the relatively heavy emphasis placed by most Third World governments on the development of the modern sector, often at the expense of the traditional or peasant sector. The overall result is that the incomes of the poor in these countries have declined both absolutely and in relation to those in the modern sector. After an examination of the evidence on this issue Todaro was forced to come to the following conclusions:
>
>> In spite of impressive rates of per capita GNP growth recorded in Third World regions during the 1960s, the agricultural sector not only showed negligible progress as a whole but it even showed a sharp decline when compared with the previous decade...the per capita food production picture for the Third World shows only a very negligible improvement in 1973 compared with the 1961–5 period and an actual deterioration since 1970.[13]

With those working in the traditional sector being mainly farmers, it can be concluded that poverty among this group has been increasing over the past years. In view of this one can understand the ardent desire of those in the low-wage traditional sector either to escape from it—as is evidenced by the massive migration to the urban areas which is occurring in many developing countries—or to secure an opportunity through formal education for their children to do so.

If we attempt to make non-formal education a substitute for formal education—as many First World non-formal education adherents propose—and try to fob the masses off with it, we run the risk of further depressing the lot of the poor in these countries and their hopes of economic improvement through their children. Further, such a step will increase the already large income differences between themselves and the rich, who will in any case still be able to afford formal education for their children to ensure their continued access to high paying jobs. Such a step might have a negative effect on the productive efforts of the masses for whom an important motivating influence for working hard is their desire to give their children a chance to escape the subsistence and sometimes below-subsistence life which they have to endure.

Despite the desire by protagonists of non-formal education to see it expand more rapidly than formal education, there have been no serious proposals so far—Illich excluded—for formal education to be replaced entirely by non-formal education. We realize no doubt that there will always be jobs in the high wage modern sector which require individuals with a formal educational background. This means that even if non-formal education is expanded some students will have to be given formal education which, since it will lead to the high-income jobs, will no doubt be regarded as 'first class' education while non-formal education will be just the 'second best'. Judging from available evidence it is the children of the rural poor who in this context will be given non-formal education and those from the middle and higher income groups who will receive formal education—a situation which will be intolerable for the masses.

D.S. Ballantine, Director of the Education Division of the World Bank, sees this issue of formal education for those seeking modern-sector employment and non-formal education for those destined for jobs in the traditional sector as a false one since the choice in most developing countries is 'not between the regular educational ladder (formal education) and the second best (non-formal education); the choice is often between the second best or nothing'.[14] In this way he attempts to justify formal education for one group and non-formal education for another. What he fails to observe is that such a decision will further frustrate what is often the only glimmer of hope among the masses for an improvement in their life style. This is why they have been demanding—at most times quietly demanding—a better chance for their children to qualify for the high paying jobs in the modern sector which will necessitate their receiving formal education. And for this very reason, non-formal education in the present context of the developing countries is not likely to be accepted by any group as an alternative to formal education. Furthermore, expansion of the former is not going to diminish the demand for the latter.

Writing in the 1920s, the economist, Alfred Marshall, commented on the influence on people's job aspirations of the existence of a few occupations with high incomes—as is the case in the modern sector of developing economies. He noted that the attractiveness of these jobs increases out of proportion to their aggregate values, and for many job aspirants the prospect of success becomes greater than the deterrent of failure. The end result is that a large number of individuals want to enter those occupations.

Non-formal education will therefore not succeed if its objective—stated or unstated—is to lower the occupational aspirations of the masses to a 'more realistic' level and make them satisfied with, or resigned to, allowing their children to earn their living in the low-wage traditional sector. Its only chance of acceptance is if it is offered concurrently with formal education which becomes increasingly open to their children.

It will seem from these arguments that the only feasible line of action is for the developing countries to continue meeting the increasing popular demand for formal education while attempting, through non-formal education, to help those beyond school age (or at present outside the ambit of schools) to acquire relevant life skills which might help to improve their conditions of living and their efficiency in whatever they might be doing. But the problem with this solution, as the non-formal education supporters have rightly argued, is that these countries cannot afford to expand much further their educational services to meet the growing demand of their population.

The answer, or an important part of it, is therefore for these countries to take steps that will effectively and with fairness reduce the demand for costly formal education to the point where the output from the formal educational system is more in line with the needs of the job market. Many suggestions on how this can be done have been put forward including the development of non-formal education as a substitute for the more expensive formal education. Other suggestions are to increase the private cost of education by charging more realistic school fees and to set up a quota system especially for secondary and higher education. While these measures will be of some value, they fail to get at the root of the problem and will essentially favour children of the higher socio-economic groups at the expense of those from the poorer families.

A more appropriate solution would be for these countries to take active steps to reduce radically the existing wide gaps in income between those working in the modern and those in the traditional or peasant agricultural sectors. This can be done from both sides of the gap—by concentrating development in the traditional sector, which to a large extent has been relatively neglected, and by reducing the rate at which incomes have been increasing in the modern sector in relation to, and often at the expense of, the traditional sector. Obviously there are many strategies which might be used to reduce these income differentials, and many of these will not be readily accepted by the high income groups in the society. However, we are not here discussing such implementation strategies. The crucial point is that the demand for formal education is being distorted by the size of the income differences in the modern as against the traditional sector. It is often argued that these wage differentials are necessary to ensure that there is an adequate supply of educated manpower especially for the higher-level jobs in the society. But the degree of these differentials is, as one World Bank economist points out, probably beyond the point where it can must be regarded as an incentive. He notes '. . . it is important to point out that the classical rationale of the incentive of wage differentials no longer applies when a mechanic earns ten times as much as an agricultural labourer or a doctor a hundred times as much'.[15]

If the reward structure of the society is radically changed to enable those in the traditional sector to earn a reasonable income compared with those with formal education working in the modern sector, it is likely that this will reduce, though not eliminate, the demand for that type of formal education which is irrelevant to the development of life skills needed in the society. And in this context the demand for the more useful education is likely to increase. So without this prior or concurrent restructuring of the reward system of these societies, non-formal education will only be marginally accepted by the masses and the demand for formal education will not decrease. It is this effort to reduce income differences in what is known as the 'modern' as against the 'traditional' sectors that has largely been responsible for the success of non-formal education in those Third World countries which are undergoing more radical social and economic changes.

Political leaders who for the reasons mentioned above, want to push non-formal education in developing societies without first, or concurrently, considering the need for a more equitable distribution of their wealth, will be disappointed with its lack of acceptance by the masses. It will never become an appropriate instrument for their development. And educators, if they are to be true to their own consciences, will find themselves in a moral dilemma, or at least facing a credibility gap, if they try to convince the masses of the benefits of non-formal education while at the same time seeking formal educational facilities for themselves and their own children.

Linking with National Development Goals

Whatever national policy decisions are made about the foregoing arguments, non-formal educators will still have to ensure that their own programmes remain or can become relevant to particular national goals. It can be both tempting and dangerous to assume that a change of emphasis from 'formal' to 'non-formal' will somehow solve most of the problems, or to suggest that where non-formal programmes have themselves failed, then what is needed is either more resources or more effective follow-up.

Literacy Programmes and Development

In the case of literacy, for example, it is still part of conventional wisdom that more illiterates will learn to read and write if more follow-up reading materials are provided. But, as Manzoor Ahmed points out, the available evidence suggests otherwise.[16] He lists four 'invalid assumptions' about literacy programmes:

(a) that the educationally deprived and economically disadvantaged are already anxious to acquire literacy;
(b) that with plenty of follow-up reading materials neo-literates can make significant use of their new skills in their own life situations;

(c) that functional literacy skills can be learned on a part-time basis over a few months;
(d) that linking literacy learning with the teaching of other practical skills and knowledge creates sufficient motivation for literacy learning, that such links can always be established, and that such a 'functional' programme can be designed and implemented with the available human resources in the developing countries.

Manzoor Ahmed continues:

> A case in point that supports our contention regarding false assumption is a well-conceived and well-managed literacy effort in Bangladesh of a voluntary organization called the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC). The BRAC Functional Education Project, in my judgement, devoted more meticulous attention and resources to identifying the learners' needs and interests, preparing lessons and teaching aids, developing an appropriate instructional methodology, and training the instructors, than most of the Experimental World Literacy Projects sponsored by UNESCO. The BRAC efforts paid off in certain respects. For one thing, compared to the five per cent of those enrolled in previous conventional literacy efforts of BRAC, 40 to 50 per cent considered it worth while to devote time and energy to completing the functional education course. Moreover, the attention and effort given to preparing the materials, developing the methodology, and training the instructors, as well as the participatory learning process employed in the programme, must have made a qualitative difference in the learning outcome that could not be indicated merely by the completion rate.
>
> The unanswered question, however, was: What was the achievement of the participants in terms of (a) literacy and numeracy skills, (b) new knowledge and information useful in improving rural living conditions, (c) critical awareness of the situation in which the participants found themselves, and (d) use of the newly acquired knowledge and awareness to change the situation?
>
> A definitive answer to these questions was not available from existing evaluative information. However, investigators from the International Council for Educational Development, on the basis of extensive discussions with workers in the field and at headquarters and visits with the rural participants of the programme, reached the following conclusions:
>
> (a) Most of those who finish the course do not achieve a level of skill sufficient to write an informative letter to a friend or a relative or to read a newspaper column. They also do not achieve a level of self-sufficiency in literacy skills that would permit them to improve their skill level on their own if reading materials for neo-literates were available. A small proportion, no more than a quarter (estimated generously) of those who complete the course, achieves a level sufficient to continue to improve their skills if they have relevant reading materials for neo-literates and the opportunity to use frequently their skills in their daily lives. In the absence of both, most of these people are likely to relapse into illiteracy. For a rural resident in a Bangladesh village, it would take extraordinary individual motivation and determination to continue to make use of his newly acquired literacy skills and to improve them.

(b) To the extent that the lessons cover information and knowledge useful to the improvement of rural living conditions and an understanding of the dynamics of the rural socio-economic situation, and to the extent that the skills of the instructors and their supervisors are sufficiently put to use (these skills vary among the groups), there is a greater knowledge and understanding among the participants about various rural problems and their own situation than in a comparable group of non-participant rural residents.

(c) There is, however, no clear evidence that the knowledge and awareness gained from the functional education programme have been put to effective use. The level of participation in the various BRAC development activities, either as beneficiaries or as contributors, of the functional education group members is not significantly different from that of non-members. Nor does the standard of living of the group members as a group appear to be different from that of the non-members. It is evident that the BRAC programme organizers, at least initially, have not viewed the participation in functional education as a pre-condition or an essential element of participation in other development activities. Nor has the functional educational programme led to such initiatives and self-help efforts among the participants as to cause them to be marked apart as the focus of special development efforts either by BRAC or other agencies.[17]

The BRAC experience is not unique by any means. A close reading of the evaluation report of the Experimental World Literacy Projects[18] will confirm the basic conclusions of the BRAC efforts: that in a non-literate environment and a primitive rural economy with most people engaged in subsistence activities, literacy is not a practical necessity; and it is extremely difficult to maintain motivation and interest in literacy efforts, even when these efforts form a part of a broader functional education programme. In fact, an emphasis on the mechanics of literacy skills may become a distraction and impede the attainment of such other important goals as creating a critical awareness of the learners' own situation, the dissemination of useful knowledge, and organizing for collective self-help actions.

We are, of course, talking about literacy programmes in the context of the usual social, economic, and political configurations found in most of the Third World countries and not of literacy and adult education efforts as integral components of a revoluntary transformation of economic relationships, social structure and distribution of political power. Even in a revolutionary situation, sustained and patient educational, motivational and propaganda work on a broad front for many many years is required to mobilize the masses in favour of a new order. The successful year-long Cuban literacy campaign that is frequently cited as a model is a singular and unique story even in the revolutionary context.

David Harman, an adult education expert not particularly sympathetic to the Marxist world-view said:

> Everywhere else but Cuba, literacy campaigns of every kind have almost always failed. Even in Mexico, where an independent and ambitious national literacy campaign was undertaken during the 1940s and 1950s, fifteen years of effort ended up with more illiterates than when the prog-

> ramme was begun. The final statistics indicate that half the adult population was illiterate.
>
> During those campaigns financed by UNESCO, the evidence of failure was predictable in every case. Eighty per cent of those who came dropped out before the programme was complete. Of those who stuck it out, 50 per cent would lose what they had learned within a single year. At best, if we are kind and optimistic, we can say that ten per cent of those involved might have held on to something they had learned.
>
> For all of these reasons, Cuba, which had turned its back upon the safe and mechanistic methods of UNESCO, must be given credit for a triumph which is totally unique.[19]

Again, the goal was to support the revolution and not just teaching the mechanics of literacy. I cannot resist quoting the principal architect of the Cuban campaign, Dr. Paul Ferrer: 'The statistics of the end results are very good. Yet this was not at any time our chief concern. This fact was a by-product of a deeper goal. The great heart of the literacy struggle was the revolution; its chief result, a farmer-worker-student coalition. Above all else, as you have seen, the students in the cities learned the greatest lesson of their lives: reading that "book of life" not from a printed text but from the campesinos whom they were assigned to teach. There is, perhaps, a kind of poetry in this. If so, it is a poetry, that is not mine. The poetry is already there in the history of the campaign'.[20]

The new National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) in India underlines the importance of moving beyond a narrow definition of literacy if there is to be a reasonable chance of success.

The aim of the proposed five-year campaign is to create an educational movement for making 100 million people between the ages of 14–35 years literate in five years. The outline of the programme indicates the necessary steps such as developing resources including appropriate content material, establishing the administrative and management structure, preparing the personnel with different competencies, allocating adequate funds, and creating a monitoring and evaluation system. A significant paragraph in the outline is as follows:

> It is important that the adult education movement should be closely linked with the planning strategy, which emphasizes elimination of destitution through intensive area planning and by giving employment orientation to development. For this purpose close co-operation should be created with the dominant development activity of the area whether it goes under the rubric of Integrated Rural Development or Integrated Tribal Development or Employment Oriented Area Planning or whatever. The adult education programmes should strive to establish mutually supportive linkage with the development activity.[21]

It is interesting that the paragraph as well as the title of the document cited refer to adult education and not literacy. And it is adult education in the broad sense that has a much greater relevance for basic needs-oriented development than literacy as such. The critical educational issue is how diverse adult educational activities can be launched and made essential elements of development efforts and not how to mount literacy campaigns.

The Indian programme suggests the following range of activities: (a) literacy with assured follow-up; (b) conventional functional literacy; (c) functional literacy supportive of a dominant development programme; (d) literacy with learning-cum-action; and (e) literacy for conscientization and formation of organizations of the poor. It is the last two of these categories which are likely to have the greatest impact on the vast majority of the rural masses.

Literacy and Economic Activity

Kenneth King approaches the question of relevance from a rather different perspective. He notes the 'significant overlap between those people deemed illiterate and those who work in what has been loosely termed the informal or unorganized sector of the economy.'[22] Those who are illiterate are largely outside the regular wage labour force:

> They are concentrated in the categories of household and family labour, particularly women, and amongst the classes of subsistence farmers and subsistence petty producers both in towns and in rural areas. That is to say that illiterates are largely self-employed farm and home workers, or, if they work for others, they do not work in the formal sector but for employers who are themselves not registered in formal labour statistics. Frequently, their work is seasonal, part-time, casual or insecure. Those who are illiterate are not the self-employed in general, for there are long traditions in some countries of independent small trade and business based on literacy; they are what may be termed the subsistence or marginal self-employed...
>
> When functional rather than traditional literacy has been recommended as a strategy, very little attention has been given to the kind and conditions of work that the illiterates are engaged in. The concern has been more with the introduction of new information related to a single type of occupation, such as coffee growing, fishing, or growing tobacco. Putting it over simply, functional literacy has often meant merely improving the knowledge base for a particular rural activity, without examining in the specific work situation the degrees of freedom available to act on that information...
>
> What is argued for here is the inseparability of the work environment and the literacy environment. Unless these two are kept in very close contact, it will remain tempting to think that such questions as motivation for literacy can somehow be dealt with by literacy planners. If we examine the literacy problem in the context of the many millions of subsistence self-employed and household workers, then one of the first points that needs emphasis is the very marginal difference that literacy may make to these categories of workers. It may very well be true that for the remaining clusters of illiterate workers in the formal sector there is a calculable benefit from becoming literate, and this potential literacy for employed workers is neatly captured in Kassam's voices of new literates:

> Literacy has opened our eyes and it has done such a lot of good that I now believe that if anyone refuses to become literate he should be dismissed from his job.[23]

No such ready calculation can be made by the subsistence self-employed. There is no hierarchically organized job structure that might correspond to, and reward, the various stages of literacy success. Ragpicking, sharecropping or doing outwork in the home on a piece-rate are, for example, minimally affected by the acquisition of literacy, as are many other types of work in the unorganized sector of the economy.

Nor does making literacy the vehicle for useful crop or fertilizer information or improved business practice make very much difference if the recipient of the new knowledge cannot act upon it. And almost by definition the bulk of the illiterates in the rural areas are not those poised to adopt new pest control practices or new crop strains. They have neither the standing nor the savings to get a loan or take the necessary risk.

Although literacy campaigns continue to be termed 'work-related' or 'functional' there has been surprisingly little concern with the existing skills and knowledge of those who are the targets of the exercise. The emphasis is more on what they lack than on what they have. The purpose of stressing existing skill and knowledge is not to diminish the importance of literacy but to point to the milieu in which these present skills are exercised.

One of the benefits of the attention that has been given to the informal sector (by labour economists and political scientists) in recent years, is that a great deal more is known about the nature of the skills and technology employed within that sector. In particular, the various systems whereby such skills are acquired have begun to be charted. These differ a great deal from country to country, depending on the importance of clan, caste, and community monopoly of certain trades, etc. but enough is now known about the process to make it very misleading to put up a literacy poster showing side by side a spider spinning a web and a West African weaver, with the caption 'He's no better than the spider if he can't read'. The process of acquiring expertise may well have stretched over several years in some skills, and several months in others, but the achievement of mastery has its due procedures, and these are valued in many trades to a point where an access fee for learning can be charged. With several of these trades, the learning acquired is inseparable from numeracy, but is not dependent on literacy. In many more cases, the skill requires a complex interaction of hand and eye movement, and, whether it is roadside shoe-repair or car-repair, it demands an improvising technology in the use of materials and tools.

In a way, literacy for these tens of thousands of petty producers faces the same obstacles that urban planners and development economists have run into when they conceptualize these same people as 'the informal sector'. It is recognized that these petty artisans meet the need for very low cost goods and services, and that their present level of skills is well-adjusted to consumer demand. And yet there is the feeling that 'surely something needs to be done about them'. As a consequence, planners have begun to devise ways for integrating the skills of the informal sector into the official trade certification system. Or they have tried to see what it is that is 'missing' in the informal method of producing goods, and have identified theory as the missing element. Typically, as in the ILO's report on *Lagos: urban development and employment*, the stress is on bridging the gap between the formal and informal sector through skill improvement and trade testing:

> The training itself could be assisted by Government and the qualifications acquired could be registrable with the Government through testing and certification of skills acquired. Once certified the apprentices should be regarded as employable by the formal sector and even by the Government.[24]

If examined carefully, this argument contains a serious contradiction. It is precisely the lack of jobs in the formal sector that has forced hundreds of thousands into improvisation on the roadside, and into forms of subsistence self-employment. To suggest, then, that what these people should be offered is access to the certification system of the formal sector from which they have been excluded seems strange reasoning. The certification of trade in the large firms and government ministries is intimately connected to the salary changes of an organized promotion system. No such automatic reward for certification exists throughout the informal sector. Putting it too starkly, the problem of India's roadside cobbler is not that his skills are not currently convertible into government trade tests in 'shoemaking, grades one, two and three'. Similarly, with the argument for injecting some theory into the skill of the roadside mechanics in Accra, it must be recognized that theory operates in the formal sector less as a precondition of skilled work and more as a pass that allows movement from lower to higher skill, and from higher skill to technician status. Skill improvement courses, enriched by theory, may be of some marginal value to the self-employed, and a few of them may as a result be able to slip over into the formal sector, but this whole approach insufficiently acknowledges the fact that it is not skill that is in short supply amongst the subsistence self-employed, it is credit and security of standing as individuals and as a community.

From this perspective then, the offer of literacy faces the same difficulty as the offer of a more theoretical base for artisans' existing skill. To the roadside mechanic, the theory surrounding the internal combustion engine can add very little to his ear for the right engine sound and his knack for adjusting it. Similarly, the literacy that would allow him to grasp this theory suffers from an equal lack of relatedness to his daily tasks. This fact is perhaps insufficiently recognized when there is a call for a more literate base for the occupations practised in the village. For example, a pamphlet on motivation for literacy comments: 'There are so many crafts in the villages, but hardly anybody reads or writes anything about those crafts or occupations. If people are asked the measurements of the instruments they use, they should be able to tell'.[25]

In all probability, the village artisan could say a great deal about his tools and instruments, many of which will have been made to his own specifications, but being skilled and numerate still does not add up to a need for literacy. If this is the case for the skilled artisan, it is even more the case for those categories of work which are unskilled or semi-skilled. The hired agricultural labourer, or the small independent tiller has a series of less complex tasks, requiring just a very few basic tools and a good deal of labour. In his work there can be little margin for error, and the limits upon his initiative are only too well known to him. Again, literacy may not seem a high priority. Finally, with the large numbers of poorest women who have to combine agricultural work with the continuous demands of the home, it is again difficult to identify an immediate role for literacy.

The problem in brief for many sections of the illiterate workers in the informal sector is that they have already been excluded from the educational system and from the formal employment system. This double exclusion has set them apart from the world of the permanent worker with its grades and certificates which in many promotion systems reinforce literacy and theoretical knowledge. The process of subsisting in self-employment offers, by contrast, very little opportunity to develop or maintain literacy skills. Even if the adults concerned did have a year or so's exposure to primary education, their present job does not function in any way like a literacy retention mechanism. Quite the reverse. It may even set up a conflict for their children between helping with the family livelihood and attending school.

Those who do have access to the formal employment system are in no better position than the self-employed if their literacy skills do not contribute to their present needs in life. For both groups, literacy divorced from current life styles will either be lost or never acquired. It is absolutely vital that the acquisition of literacy is firmly tied to the solution of real contemporary problems.

Problem Solving Programmes

To revert to the paper of Manzoor Ahmed, the problem is not that of producing neo-literates on a massive scale through literacy projects and following up these projects with continuing educational opportunities—because this is generally an unrealistic, if not irrelevant, proposition for the illiterate masses in the Third Word... The much larger and critical problem is that of organizing diverse adult education activities and permitting continuous participation in such activities that can directly contribute to solving crucial life problems and meeting the basic needs of people. The most elementary need, of course, is a minimum level of income for individuals and family units. This is the main instrument and the primary assurance of meeting their basic needs. If this notion of continuing education for adults—literate, newly literate, or illiterate—is regarded as valid, we can go on to think about the operational implications of this notion. Manzoor Ahmed suggests the following propositions, particularly with regard to the connection between adult education and improving the economic situation of the poor rural families:

> (a) Adult education programmes have to be viewed and conceived more broadly than as only literacy teaching or even just delivering knowledge, information, and skills. It has to be recognized that the most effective and relevant learning takes place through the process of

solving real problems rather than in the classroom or an imitation of it. Diagnosing the potentialities and constraints for an economic project, formulating concrete goals and plans, creating appropriate institutional structures for implementing the project, managing the project, and ensuring meaningful participation of the concerned people in all of these activities are more significant learning problems than teaching literacy skills or even equipping workers with a production skill. All of these learning needs are best met through the participation of the learners in concrete action projects to solve problems of health, water supply, nutrition, and raising the income level. Discrete educational efforts divorced from such action projects are generally inconsequential in their impact on the lives of the rural masses.

(b) National and sub-national adult education bodies, in assisting local efforts, have to develop new criteria of project formulation and new performance standards and guidelines in line with the broader roles of the adult education activities and personnel in relation to income generation projects. The central bodies also have to develop their own capabilities of analysing the economic situation in rural areas and urban slums, diagnosing economic opportunities, maintaining dialogue with economic development agencies, and assessing and preparing income generation projects. Only by developing these capabilities, can the central bodies provide support to local efforts and carry out experimental and demonstration projects of their own.

(c) The adult education workers at all levels have to play a larger role than at present as the agents for social change and economic development. If education is viewed as a vital flow of nourishment through all development activities rather than as a separate service activity, the educational workers must have an understanding of the total efforts and the place of education in these efforts. For income generation and other development projects with educational components, the educational worker should be the orchestrator of the projects. In most situations, he has to play a key leadership and facilitative role for designing and initiating a new brand of integrated community development efforts that address the basic needs of poor rural families. It is not possible for him to be an expert in many fields, but he should be able to draw upon and utilize the help of people and agencies with specialized competence in different areas.

(d) Specific educational activities will not be the entry point, the centrepiece nor the determinant of performance standards in economic projects. The rationale for the special educational elements (as opposed to the continuous and unplanned process of learning of the participants through association with a project) is their contribution to the achievement of the economic objectives of a project. The project, therefore, will have to be evaluated in terms of income generation, creation of employment, distribution of income, enhancing the potential for future economic progress, and such other criteria rather than by the amount of knowledge and skills acquired by participants irrespective of the use and benefit of this knowledge and these skills.

(e) Since the economic initiatives have to be taken in specific localities on the basis of local economic prospects and institutional structures, a centralized programme approach would be highly inappropriate for the adult education components of such initiatives. Diagnosis of opportunities, design of projects, and management have to be at the local level with a high level of local autonomy and local control over the resources. Participation by the beneficiary population in the management of the projects also requires local autonomy. This, however, does not mean that technical assistance and financial resources from outside should not be available to local projects. Assistance is especially needed in developing local competence for planning, managing, and evaluating projects.

(f) Economic projects and the educational elements in them aimed at helping the disadvantaged groups of society need to be focused on specific groups with homogeneous socio-economic backgrounds, interests, and aspirations. Such groups may be landless farmworkers, mothers from poor families, destitute women without a male breadwinner in the family, out-of-school adolescents from poor families, groups of traditional artisans who have lost their traditional market and so on. This is in contrast to a common approach for a geographical unit such as a village or a district and a sectoral approach in the form of an agricultural project or a cottage industry project. The geographical or sectoral approach ignores the differences in the circumstances, needs and interests of different socio-economic groups in the same locality and tries to fit them all into one mould. Very often, these efforts end up serving the interests of the relatively wealthy and influential people at the cost of the poor and the deprived. Projects designed for homogeneous interest groups may cut across conventional sectors because the concern is about the particular situation of the target population rather than adherence to sectoral jurisdictions. When the project approach and goals are derived from the particular situation of a disadvantaged group, it is less likely to be dominated or controlled by other interest groups.

(g) Economic projects usually require capital funds. Small-scale projects for disadvantaged groups need to be labour-intensive; therefore, the capital needs are small for each project and in many activities the participants have to gradually build up their own capital assets. None the less, few projects can begin without at least some seed money. The adult education agency involved in income generation activities, therefore, must either link-up with other development agencies which can supply the capital funds or have a revolving credit fund of its own or must otherwise have access to funds to meet the small capital needs of the economic projects.

Motivation at Three Levels: Political, Operational and Participants

It will be evident from the previous sections that the interaction of non-formal education with development is certainly complex and may well be controversial. We are here concerned with large and basic issues of immediate concern to the 'deprived' or the 'powerless' or the 'disadvantaged'; quite simply, the agenda is about reducing poverty and increasing social equity. We are thus and inevitably close to questions of power and the production/distribution of resources; the very lifeblood of politics. As Malcolm Adiseshiah put it in his Closing Address:

> We have grappled with the issue of the politicality of our mandate as development educators. What is political in our mandate? I have noticed a number of tendencies. To begin with, I have detected a trend that when we do not like something we say it is 'political'. We recall that we are educators and therefore should not be concerned with this unclean thing, the political issue. On the other hand we have also come to the uncomfortable realization that education is not politically neutral. It is an active supporter and a faithful reflector of the *status quo* in society. If the *status quo* is predominantly unequal and unjust, and it is increasingly so, education will be increasingly unequal and unjust and there will be no place for non-formal education to improve the conditions of the poor. If, however, the society is moving in an egalitarian direction, then non-formal education can and will flourish. And so it has been borne in upon us that we had better examine fearlessly the political implications of our proposals, programmes and positions. There is a need for common political consensus where we have multiple political parties, and a concordance between the party and the people where we have the uni-party system. What emerges is the need for a political will for non-formal education to enable it to get on the development map of the country and play its proper role.

Or, as agreed by the Conference itself: 'Education should create an awareness that change is possible, set out the alternatives, and help communities to identify what types of changes they desire, the pace of change, and the means of attaining change. This is not always well understood by key individuals and groups in national life. Political leaders and the top echelons of policy makers may need to be informed of the potential contribution that non-formal education can make to improving the social and economic life of the nation.'[26]

Motivation at the political level is an essential pre-requisite for the fullest use of non-formal education in development—and this applies throughout the whole spectrum of political systems which exist. The *kind* of political will necessary will vary from country to country and system to system, but some clear purposeful will to change or alter the fundamental life conditions of the poor will everywhere be necessary.

At the operational level of translating policy into action, to be effective the structure of governmental machinery needs to respond to new dimensions of demand: (a) of being an effective link between the client population in understanding and communicating their deprivations and difficulties to the leaders, and at the same time mobilizing the people for change through responsible motivation; (b) of reviewing structural, economic and other features of the system which would necessarily be affected. In short the attack on the 'we-they' nexus. For senior officials, teachers and other functionaries, much of the motivation must be canalized through short conferences and other training schemes; this is dealt with in Chapter 3.

Grass-roots motivation is more complex and more difficult and there are many variations in approach. In his paper Kenneth King[27] notes a contrast in two recent views of what should be done:

> The first of these frankly abandons the view that literacy is a necessary accompaniment or precondition of development, and proposes the improvement of income opportunities in the village or town as the first priority. The second directs the illiterates' attention to the structure of the world in which they live, and seeks to use literacy as a vehicle for heightened political awareness. The two are in a sense at opposite ends of a spectrum, and in between there are many other blends and varieties...
>
> The first stresses development-knowledge-before-literacy, and seeks to identify particular ways in which income or work opportunities can be increased for particular groups, such as rural women. The process for identifying these new needs has been commonly termed participatory—which frequently means that those sponsoring or aiding the development of new income opportunities are anxious that these really are a reflection of what the village or small group itself wants. This then means that there is a somewhat intensive series of group meetings with the external facilitators to elucidate what these villagers' needs really are, as opposed to what an outsider might feel they should be. A whole methodology has been developed around this approach, as can be seen from the following excerpt:
>
>> In carrying out the initial needs assessment in each village, a team composed of facilitator and village co-ordinator finds a common meeting place and engages the villagers in a variety of informal, information-gathering activities (including having them tell stories about pictures, reacting to taped, open-ended dramas, answering projective questions).
>>
>> In analysing the data generated during the needs assessment, the project staff looks for common themes in learners' interests. Based on these themes, they develop initial learning experiences and materials which will give the learners the opportunity to determine which topics are of greatest interest and, given the local resources available, which are feasible to pursue.[28]
>
> As can be seen, this type of approach is extremely time-intensive because of its emphasis on non-directive behaviour from the outsiders; it is also almost by definition community or village-specific. The method may be generalizable, but the needs are localized. Hence each group has to start afresh. This very small scale community-development perspective is clearly quite removed from the traditional literacy curriculum, with its series of basic primers used across the entire country. Instead, this approach implies a fresh primer of learning needs for each community. A mass campaign is, therefore, almost unthinkable.
>
> What is really happening in this development-before-literacy approach is that at the micro-level there is an attempt to alter the work environment slightly, to make room for a number of new initiatives. Putting this another way, a few resources from the formal sector are concentrated and made

available to particular groups of the subsistence self-employed. Even though the theory of this kind of project development stresses that it is non-directive, the single most important thing about it is that these facilitators with formal-sector skills and influence put themselves at the service of small informal groups as resource people. This intensive interest, focused on the group from outside, acts as a catalyst and summons up sources of self-help which are feasible within the existing work environment. The result is limited improvement of certain community facilities or certain individual incomes, and the hope is, in the words of one research experiment in this approach, 'that as these kinds of activities develop and expand, the illiterate participants may begin to feel a need to acquire or improve their literacy skills in order to improve their ability to operate the enterprise'.[29]

It can be seen that this economic-improvement-before-literacy approach is very far removed from the traditional literacy class, run by a tired primary school teacher or a community volunteer. It should perhaps be said, however, that if this quality of outside involvement were directly applied to the traditional task of literacy, it might be equally effective. Many literacy classes fail because the village or urban target groups can spot immediately that the provision is viewed as poor people's education imparted in a shabby way. It is too often an activity carried on on the very periphery of the formal sector, with classes that may be cancelled, texts that may not arrive, and with teachers who are not paid. It could be argued that any literacy initiative that managed to apply consistently the resources from outside to the village scene would have considerable effect. By contrast any national call for literacy that does not make its mark by the redistribution of formal sector resources to the village is unlikely to have an impact upon the realistically low expectations of the subsistence self-employed. The issue is the quality and consistency of outside interest rather than its being directive or non-directive. For many categories of workers excluded from the formal sector mainstream, it has to be clear that the intervention in the village or urban slum is serious, not just a national clarion call faintly heard.

The other approach to literacy—the heightening of awareness as an accompaniment to new learning—is not frightened to start with literacy itself. Initially, however, this approach also seeks to be participatory, and to ensure that the first words and themes are drawn out of the villagers themselves. Not at random, but in a way that helps to lay bare the structure of the peasant or outworker's world. The assumption that lies behind this politicized approach to literacy is that being in the informal, self-employed sector is not a chance event, and is not unconnected to the larger political economy of the country. Reading successfully three traditional literacy primers will therefore not alter the peripheral nature of this subsistence sector, nor a neo-literate's place within that structure. Literacy work, therefore, should concentrate on the elements and outcomes of that infrastructure that supports rural or urban poverty. The analysis of this methodology by Freire, and the many subsequent attempts to put it into practice, are sufficiently well known not to be repeated here. What may be said, however, is that this mode, like the first one, relies on sensitive resource people, of a much higher education than would be traditional in a village literacy drive. Also like the first, it is almost by definition community or village-specific, with each group having to start afresh to discover the themes that determine its powerlessness.

Both of these approaches to motivation for literacy pay attention to the work environment. The first suggests ways in which further income may be made within the existing economic structure; the second underlines the forces operating to set limits on such village or slum initiatives. Both take as a starting point the needs of the village, and both use external catalysts to focus on what these needs might be. As yet, the evidence is not available on the results of these kinds of approaches to literacy. Indeed, it is very difficult to be clear how their success might be evaluated, since their goals are wider than the mere acquisition of literacy.

By raising a question mark about the meaning of acquisition, these differing concerns with literacy have been extremely valuable. They both point to the milieu in which literacy is acquired, and by implication refer to the context in which it may be retained. This leads us to a related aspect of motivation—the infrastructure available to support and retain literacy by whatever methods it may be won. Again, research on the problems of developing small-scale industry in the rural areas seems to offer relevant insights. Skill, for example, can be offered virtually anywhere, but it cannot take root and be localized in small productive enterprises unless there is an adequate infrastructure. In many villages of the Third World there is no postal service, no banking facility, no access to newsprint, no all-weather road, no outpost of the government's extension services. The villages' demand for skilled work is affected by this inadequate infrastructure, as are the opportunities for the reinforcement of literacy once acquired.

Two Case Studies in Motivation

The case studies which follow present two different ways of motivating potential participants in non-formal education. In the Tanzanian example, motivation is seen as an essential component in national planning: as part of the widely expressed political will to development and national transformation. In the Botswana case study, a particular technique (popular theatre) is used to raise the consciousness of a people whose previous development has been somewhat apart from the mainstream of national life.

1. Literacy and Post-Literacy Programmes: the Tanzania Experience

(E. P. R. Mbakile)

During the last decade Tanzania has put great emphasis on non-formal education as one of the major strategies for national development. This strategy, it is hoped, will eventually contribute substantially towards the attainment of the goals of socialism and self reliance.

Development programmes and actions in Tanzania are determined by political ideology and actions. And non-formal education as a development strategy is no exception to this rule. Thus the initiation of literacy programmes, their implementation as well as their survival, have all been possible because of a strong and committed political will. Without this backing we may not have managed to mobilize millions of persons, to get them to stay in the literacy classes, and the programmes may not have survived. The emphases at the political level are on socialism and self reliance.

In addition, the Arusha Declaration in 1967 emphasized labour intensive development projects and de-centralization of government plans and policies in order to increase the involvement of the total population in the development process and to mobilize the country's resources towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease. In accordance with this, President J. K. Nyerere stresses the importance of adult education for the individual and for the country, declaring that Tanzanians should shake themselves out of the resignation to the kind of life they have lived for centuries. Further he has pointed to the necessity for integrating learning and work.

As a result of these directives there has been a wide range of activity in adult education throughout the country whose impetus has come from party resolutions and government actions. Among these activities are growth of the administrative structure for adult education, the establishment of local adult education committees and local literacy centres, the provision of logistic and communication support for programmes, and the deployment of voluntary teachers, school teachers, and civil servants to participate in programmes. In short, there has been far-reaching action to mobilize people to participate in adult education programmes.

Aims and Objectives

The immediate, the middle-range and the long-term aims and objectives of the National Literacy Programmes are:

(a) The immediate aim is the eradication of illiteracy. It is projected that the illiteracy rate will have been brought down to within the range of 10 to 15 per cent by 1981.

(b) Middle-range aims and objectives are for the participants to apply the acquired new knowledge and skills to solve their basic economic, social and cultural problems and for a more efficient participation in their individual development and that of the community and the nation.

(c) Long-range aims and objectives are intended for the provision of life-long education.

Apart from its concern with the acquisition of literacy skills, the programme provides for the acquisition of vocational and other skills and knowledge that will enable the participants to solve their day-to-day problems. Thus, the basic functional literacy primers deal with issues related to agricultural production, fishing, animal husbandry, political education and home economics. Supporting the basic functional literacy primers are the para-literacy or the supporting programmes such as the Rural Radio Education Programme, the Rural Libraries Services, the Rural Construction Programme, the Home Economics Programme, the Special Agricultural Work-Oriented Projects, the Special Home Economics Programme, and the Mobile Film Units. Participants who have graduated in literacy are regrouped into post-literacy groups, each group deciding on a particular area of study. The subject matter has been graded progressively, to enable the learners to proceed with ease.

The ten specialized areas of study include agriculture, family care and health, geography, history, Swahili language, English language, rural construction, political economy, political education, and mathematics. These subjects are not compulsory to any given group, instead each post-literacy group chooses its subjects on the basis of individual or group interest or community need. Post-literate groups are not confined to the literacy graduates, as they have attracted some literates whose interest is to obtain advanced knowledge and/or skills. The post-literacy programme is supported, too, by para-literacy or supporting programmes. In addition to these, some of the literacy graduates participate in the following two programmes:

(a) The Correspondence Education Programme, according to individual needs.
(b) The Folk Development Colleges which offer short serial residential courses to participants selected by their own communities. The selection depends on individual community needs.

Motivation, Mobilization and Involvement

Some of the major questions which often crop up concerning the involvement of the learners relate to three principles: motivation, mobilization and involvement.

(a) How has Tanzania managed to mobilize the 5.8 million persons and motivate them to enrol into literacy classes and the supporting programmes?
(b) How has it managed to motivate the learners to stay in these classes and to continue on to the post-literacy programme?
(c) What has been the experience regarding the involvement of the learners in the literacy activities or what type of incentives were there, if any, for the learners?

Although motivation is basically a psychological term, we tend to look at motivation and mobilization as two sides of the same coin since the problems of motivation are translated into actions of mobilization which consequently lead to further motivations and eventually to involvement. The process is cyclical, repeating itself with no specific and definite demarcated stages in the cycle. However, the process has a tendency to revolve around the concept of involvement, in this case the active association and/or participation by the learners in the educational development process and actions. This is where the link is built. We will, therefore, use these terms interchangeably.

In most cases and under normal circumstances the illiterate adults, particularly those in the rural areas, do not care very much whether they learn to read or not. In the normal situation of a rural population with a majority of illiterates, the decision to learn to read and write has usually been an isolated and individual decision. The majority will not enrol of their own accord, and even if they do enrol will not come to the literacy classes because they do not feel they need the literacy skills. They feel no deprivation. This means that when we meet with situations of non-enrolment, drop-outs, drop-ins, irregular attendance, coming late to the classes, etc. the mobilization and motivational efforts have not been able to provide answers to the very vital question: 'literacy for what?'

What concerns most of us, literate or not, is the availability with ease of the basic necessities of life. We should therefore not expect active involvement of the learners where, for example, they have to travel miles and miles looking for water. This would imply that the non-formal education programmes intended for development should go hand in hand with programmes which assure the availability of basic human needs which are generally regarded as more important.

The question of 'literacy for what' becomes more complex when it is compounded by factors related to legacies of attitudes in relation to western styles of education. The potential learners often enquire whether they will be employed after graduating in literacy. However, they quickly abandon this idea when they come to realize that not all the primary school leavers can be employed or be absorbed into secondary schools. The illiterate parent will therefore demand: 'First solve the problems of primary school leavers before worrying about us', or else they will advise: 'After all we are too old to learn, so why waste your time?' The re-orientation of the formal system of education towards the realities of the unavailability of places in the higher institutions of learning and opportunities for salaried employment would seem to be quite in order..

In Tanzania, where emphasis is put on rural transformation, the literacy programmes go hand in hand with other similar development programmes. This would mean a competition in the allocation of time by the individuals participating in all the development programmes. The literacy component of development projects is better relegated to second or third place. There is a tendency by the leadership and administrators to react with more vigour to newly introduced development programmes at the expense of the older ongoing programmes, one of which could be the literacy programme. The old programmes may even be forgotten. In both cases, remobilization of the leadership and the participants is always called for.

The results of training in functional literacy are not immediate, and, if they appear, are likely to be diffuse. In cases where a multitude of change agents and factors are simultaneously at work it becomes more difficult to attribute the results to or identify them with functional literacy training. The processes of mobilization, motivation and involvement may turn out to be hard tasks simply because concrete examples of positive results cannot be identified in such programmes.

It is nowadays commonly advocated that programme clientele should be actively involved in programme planning, etc. However, our experience shows that where political decisions and priorities are of overriding importance, the implementation of these by the government does not have to wait for participatory planning. The party resolution on the eradication of illiteracy required the application of approaches, techniques, and methods—all of which could be developed with less participatory planning than is desirable.

Initially, the functional literacy concept in Tanzania aimed at speeding up development through a literacy programme linked to an economic activity. In fact, the First Five-Year Development Plan (1964–1969) had put emphasis on economic development through high production of cash crops, hence the inclusion of the Functional Literacy Project in this Plan. The general objectives of this Project had been worked out to tie up with the general objectives of the Plan. But as realized later, to look at development through money economy alone was to take a narrow view of the concept 'functional'. This was also opposed to the national objectives which aimed at the total development and liberation of man. Economic incentives, though they sound powerful are consistently overated.

In view of the foregoing, it turned out that the initial elaboration of programmes, programme building, and programme contents did not concern themselves with the total human activities and concerns. As a result some of the learners could not attach much importance to the programmes. They came to the classes whenever they wished to or when special pressure demanded that they did so.

The mobilization process during the National Literacy Campaign implied that illiteracy was to be eradicated by the end of 1975. But by 1975 the achievement of the intended goal proved to be an illusion, and we had to remobilize and change the hopes for increased involvement while keeping the campaign on track. . . The assessment of the campaign carried out in that year revealed that the illiteracy rate had been reduced to 39 per cent compared with an estimated 67 per cent in 1967. In 1977 the total involvement of learners has risen to 5.8 million—or about 97 per cent of the total known adult illiterate population.

Different persons may attend literacy classes for different reasons including those dictated by the demands of national goals. For example, an individual may come to the classes simply because he wants to learn how to write his name. If he manages to do that, he will have achieved his desired goal with utmost satisfaction. But the goal of this individual does not meet all the nationally defined goals. . . which go far beyond the writing of one's name. Unless his participation in the literacy programme induces additional motivations, it would prove difficult to retain such an individual for further involvement.

One of the aims of the literacy programmes is to teach the Swahili language. The teaching and learning materials have been written in Swahili, and it is the medium of instruction. It is obvious, therefore, that those learners who have little or no command of the language will experience difficulties and cannot involve themselves effectively in the learning process. On the other hand, the learning of Swahili has been one of the motivating factors for some learners.

Due to the extensive nature of the eradication of illiteracy campaign, there was barely enough time to allow us to concentrate on the formulation, elaboration and preparation of programmes for post-literacy activities. Therefore, we suddenly found ourselves with millions of new literates with nothing to offer them for continuous learning. By the time the post-literacy programmes were ready, some learners had lost interest and had to be remotivated.

Another cause of frustration for the learners is the shortage of personnel. Functional literacy programmes demand the availability of extension personnel who can handle the complicated theoretical and practical issues of a relevant development field which cannot adequately be handled by literacy instructors. Unfortunately the number of extension personnel is not enough to meet the demand. This has placed the learners in an awkward situation for they are unable to practise them whenever they wish because of the half-baked knowledge and skills they have acquired.

Radio Education as a Supporting Programme

Radio education as one of the literacy supporting programmes has been the most effective tool for solving some of the problems. Basically, the programme was part of the promotional campaign for effective participation in the National Literacy Campaign not only by the learners but also by the public, the teachers, the supervisors, and the leadership. Literacy songs sung by the literacy and adult education classes, choirs, cultural groups and schools and recorded in the field, combined with motivational slogans and problem-solving components, were parts of a motivational programme that became so popular with the learners that it became impossible for us to meet their demands. A feedback system was established between the field and the management through which the learners could state their problems, ask questions on matters not clearly understood by them, criticize our programmes, suggest improvements and/or topics they would like dealt with, and also report on their activities.

The Radio Education Programme had also the objective of tackling the narrowness of teaching and learning and content in the literacy programmes by enriching the learning and teaching processes. This literacy class support included general agricultural topics, home-life topics (such as child care, nutrition, home budgeting, home crafts, family and community hygiene etc), co-operatives, small scale industries, banking and credit...

It was seen in the evaluation that providing the opportunity for adult learners to have their songs recorded and broadcast and letting the listening groups ask questions, state their problems and report about their activities, encouraged the literacy classes to overcome the feeling of isolation. The programme made the learners in the various parts of the country feel part of the National Literacy Campaign. It brought about a feeling of national cohesion and homogeneity. It created a widespread awareness and interest among the people which in turn increased their level of participation through decisions made by the literacy groups and the local leadership. By and large the programme gave higher respectability to literacy in the public view particularly as the roles and functions of literacy became clear.

Earlier we mentioned the decentralization process and the formation of adult education committees. All these are efforts to involve the learners either directly or through their own representatives. In order to strengthen further the participatory democracy process, the communities select the literacy teachers from within the community who are acceptable to them and who are likely to understand the local problems better than an outsider. The literacy classes also establish literacy class committees and literacy centre committees which deal with the day to day problems and affairs of the classes. Local problems which cannot be solved by these committees are referred to a higher authority—that is the education department of the village government.

Cases are known whereby the literacy class committees and literacy centre committees have recommended the dismissal of a literacy teacher because of unbecoming behaviour or incompetence. Participants are fined for irregular attendance or coming late to the class without genuine reasons or expelled for displaying irregular behaviour like coming to the classes while under the influence of alcohol. Decisions are made on the type of self-reliance actions for meeting costs for materials and equipment, etc

Another motivating instrument was the use of demonstration plots where learners practised during the growing season the technical knowledge learned in class during the dry season. The long-term gain expected from demonstration activities is for the learners to be able to control their own environment. The immediate gains have been to enable them to solve their immediate problems and to adopt certain behaviour hitherto not practised. For example, the money from sales of crops and materials prepared by the home economics groups has been used to purchase class materials and equipment or else the groups have opened bank accounts (which enhance their attitudes towards capital)...

A further incentive to learners has been offered in the form of certificates. The significant feature here is that all the learners who have sat for the tests were awarded certificates according to their levels of achievement irrespective of whether they have graduated or not. Although the notion of tests or examinations still lingers on, we have tried to reject the concept of pass or fail as far as our adult learners are concerned. We strongly believe that the adult learners go through an educational process that runs along a continuum, and, by awarding them certificates as they proceed, we are endeavouring to instil into their minds the idea that 'education has no end'. Incidentally, the Swahili version of 'education has no end' is the title of our rural newspaper and also our motto used in the promotional and publicity activities in the campaign.

Some of the motivational and involvement problems have been narrowed down by promotiong literacy in the public view. This has been achieved through the general public's involvement, commitment and psychological will. We have already referred to the political role and function in the mobilization and politicization of the masses. However, we felt that we should go a step further and undertook to make the public more responsive to adult literacy and adult education as vehicles for national development. It is our conviction that the more the values of adult literacy and adult education are appreciated by the general public, the more we can expect its moral support. And given such moral support the learners are likely to respond more positively and actively to the literacy and adult education programmes.

This case study raises the following salient points:

(a) Although a sound political ideology may determine a development policy and the strategies for that policy, the effectiveness of the political ideology will entirely depend on understanding, dedication, commitment and the will to translate that ideology into operational programmes and activities. Mobilization, politicization, support, and actions by political function have become possible by this translation.

(b) In translating the ideological-operational terms into practical actions, the government committed itself to carry out certain structural changes conducive to the implementation of literacy programmes. These included decentralizing the government and providing an adequate infrastructure to allow for a wider scope of people's involvement.

(c) This wider scope of involvement was strengthened by further structural changes at the grass-roots level, which included the villagization programme, the establishment of village governments, and the creation of organs and processes which would allow the participants to exercise participatory democracy and control the programmes at village level.

(d) The mobilization and promotional campaigns and the programmes themselves may succeed only if the programmes are relevant to the participants and not mere efforts which appear to appease them.

(e) The mobilization, motivation and involvement processes are cyclical and continuous in nature and one has to be alert to revitalize their application.

(f) Diversified mass media, in approach and content, are indispensable and powerful tools in the motivation process.

(g) Continuous evaluation is an essential component of the programmes to gauge and guide the extent of the present and future involvement by participants.

(h) Successful involvement in non-formal education programmes should be expected where these programmes run alongside other development programmes intended to solve basic human problems.

(i) General public commitment, psychological will and involvement are essential factors in giving literacy increased respectability. This, in turn, provides moral support to the learners thereby motivating them to increase their involvement.

Finally, in discussing issues related to problems of motivation and involvement in Tanzania one should take into account the relatively vast size of the country, the wide variety of resources from area to area, the variegeted man-environment interaction patterns, the wide spectrum of the socio-economic and cultural streams, unique problems on myriads of known, partly known and unknown factors, and the historical factors and processes pertaining to development in specific geographical areas and the nation as a whole.

Encouraging Participation in Development (Ross Kidd and Martin Byram)

A people's lack of confidence or feeling of being unable to constructively change their situation precludes them from active involvement in development... The starting point is to challenge prevailing apathy and mobilize interest, participation, critical awareness and self-confidence. Only when people have become aware of the possibility of changing their situation can non-formal education and other strategies for organizing rural development have any impact.

One of the most effective methods for developing participation, critical awareness, self-confidence, and collective action is the problem-solving group discussion as elaborated by Paulo Freire.[30] Freire* used pictures which he called 'codes' to depict the essence of the problem ('codification') and to spark off discussion. There are, of course, other media for 'codifying' reality, for example, drama, documentary film or video-tape.

The case study elaborated here is a Freire-type community education and action programme built around the use of popular theatre. The term 'popular theatre' is defined as people's theatre speaking to the common man in his language and idiom and dealing with problems of direct relevance to his situation. It attempts to involve the whole community, not just a small élite determined by class or education.

Popular theatre can be an effective tool in conscientization programmes. As entertainment it seems capable of attracting and holding the interest of large numbers of people many of whom who have been alienated by traditional approaches to adult education and development...

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*The approach of Paulo Freire is discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

The most important feature of popular theatre is its representation of local situations and problems (codification). It is this which makes it a powerful tool for education. People see themselves and their situation afresh and want to talk about these problems with others. Through discussion (which follows every performance) people can share their ideas about these problems and formulate solutions to them. Often this alone is not enough, it has to be supported by other forms of follow-up such as extension work.

Another important feature of popular theatre is that it is participatory. The theatre form used is one that everyone can manage. It operates on the principle that anyone can learn to play a role, improvise dialogue, or handle a puppet. Extensive rehearsals or memorized lines would discourage participation. So instead of a heavily scripted approach, the performances are based on improvisation, enthusiasm, and a plot line which is worked out by the actors themselves. This approach works well precisely because the actors are familiar with the issues and situations they are presenting (since they are their issues) and they develop dialogue, gesture, and action in response to each other and the audience without having to remember a fixed script. By keeping the form rough and simple, popular theatre can be kept within the control of local people—therefore it can be used on a mass scale.

Thus, popular theatre is an appropriate medium for mass social transformation programmes since: (a) everyone can handle it; (b) it is inexpensive and has no technical limitations; (c) as an already familiar medium (drawing on indigenous creative expression) it provides an acceptable means of bringing development issues into the community.

This latter aspect of drawing on local cultural expression is very important. Folk media enthusiasts have emphasized the 'familiarity' of the medium. Colin Low has commented:

> In many communities of limited literacy, the habitual response is 'We can't speak, we have no education'. There is a belief in educational inferiority and there seems to be almost compulsion for self-denigration before the mystique of education. Yet many people in these communities, because they are not influenced or inhibited by extensive schooling have a great oral tradition of story-telling, versifying, singing and so on. They can be witty and colourful and the language is sometimes richer than the homogenized textbook variety. Making use of this talent can change attitudes toward the educational mystique.[31]

What is more important is that people are good at it. This makes it immediately useful as a force for increasing self-confidence. By neglecting indigenous creative expression we 'inhibit people from active participation in the process of modernization, because an abrupt denigration of traditional forms of culture means denial of access to a kind of literacy to which they have been used'. On the other hand, by using a popular theatre which makes use of local forms of cultural expression, 'the creative forces that reside in the people are being brought to bear on the development process'.[32]

Finally it is important to emphasize that the popular theatre performance is not the whole experience. It is the initial catalyst for a programme of education and action.* It is used in a deliberately functional sense, not as an end in itself but as a medium of social transformation. In this way art becomes socially relevant and part of a larger concern for the creation of a more human and justly ordered society.

Adult educators in Botswana have been experimenting with popular theatre as a tool for raising critical consciousness (i.e. 'conscientization')... and this study focuses on an example of popular theatre work in Botswana to illustrate its motivational power to mobilize interest, participation, critical awareness and develop people's confidence to participate in their own development...

The traditional territorial areas of the Basarwa (popularly referred to in the past as 'Bushmen') in Western Botswana have in the last fifty years become fenced cattle ranches. The Basarwa have been employed as cattle-workers or live as squatters on these ranches. They have become dependent on food rations from these ranches and on milk from the cattle they are attending, and many have lost their traditional hunting skills. They also depend on water sources owned by the cattle ranchers and often have no access to land for ploughing or grazing their own cattle.

A recent government survey revealed that the Basarwa had a strong desire to get their own land in order to escape the exploitation of the farms. Government has allocated land and provided boreholes for four new communities. These new settlements will be given other basic services, but beyond that the Basarwa must find their own resources to develop the communities as they see fit.

A series of workshops for each new group of settlers is organized before they move to the new communities. The purpose of each meeting is to give the new settlers an opportunity to meet and to start talking about the problems and issues related to life on the new settlements. It is important that they realize that they will be responsible for their own livelihood and will no longer be able to depend on others for their food.

Various methods have been tried to make these community meetings work well. Lectures and question-answer sessions tended to reinforce the passivity and dependence of the participants. It made them sit back and listen to government representatives telling them what to do rather than provoking them to tackle the problems themselves. Small group discussions seemed too academic, requiring an academic response only; they failed to generate the necessary enthusiasm and involvement. In this situation, drama was tried as a more dynamic way of involving the participants. The meeting place was set up as a theatre-in-the-round with the performance taking place in the middle.

The drama starts according to an agreed plot. The new settlers are gathered around a fire at the new community. They are talking about the borehole and how they can afford to run and maintain it. Then conversation shifts to subsistence. Some threaten to return to the farms, others say that they should wait and see what government will provide.

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*Bro Russell and his Ghanaian colleagues have experimented with the use of performance not only in the initial motivation stage but also in the follow-up action programme. In the latter case performances are used to provide discussion on some of the problems in implementing the action programme. See Bro Russell, unpublished report on a Popular Theatre Project in Ghana. Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana, 1977.

Two government officers arrive. The senior officer talks about government's contribution (land, borehole, school, health-post) and exhorts them to work harder in the spirit of self-reliance. The translator, speaking in Sesarwa tells them bluntly: 'What he is saying is "No rations, no petrol for your borehole engine. You're on your own. We're giving you nothing".' The Basarwa ask a few questions to confirm this view. When they realize they can get nothing more out of government, the questioning stops. The government officers leave.

The situation must be very carefully demonstrated so that everyone understands and begins immediately to identify themselves in this imaginary yet realistic context. Government's unwillingness to provide everything for the new settlers must be hammered home with constant repetition so that people's expectations become adjusted to the real situation right from the beginning.

The rest of the drama is built around this basic situation—a group discussion around the fire. Once the actors catch the spirit and start to feel themselves realistically in that situation, the 'play' takes off. New situations and issues develop as people start to deal imaginatively with their new situation. These can be fed into the drama from the 'inside' or 'outside'. Actors can create new situations themselves, or participants in the outer circle can join the drama bringing in new problems. The organizers can also feed in issues by briefing certain participants in the outer circle to take a problem into the drama themselves in the role of government officers.

At the first workshop where this technique was used the actors started to improvise their reaction to the opening situation entirely spontaneously. They started to mime how they would use their hunting and collecting skills to provide food and how they would make leather goods and handicrafts for sale. They sent a delegation to see the government about handicraft production. A few men returned to the farms to work on behalf of the group.

The drama becomes a simulation game without documents and role cards, yet it is less structured than a simulation game. The events are not prepackaged or scripted. There is room for participants to choose the issues and situations which are important for them. It gives them the opportunity to paint their own future in an imaginative yet realistic way. Instead of the learning experience being structured for the participants (by government officers), they choose what is important and they determine what is possible. Because of the sense of community, of collective expression that is found in Basarwa life, the statements and actions of the acting group become in one sense collective statements for the whole group. The actors (who change throughout this continuous play) are speaking for the whole group.

This type of simulation game is used to help participants begin to understand and deal with some of the problems in their own future situation. It will work to the extent that the Basarwa are able to see themselves in that situation. The working hypothesis here is that participatory drama provides a much more effective medium for identifying that future situation than listening to a talk or discussing these issues in an academic way. Through this use of theatre, discussion becomes part of the performance rather than remaining separate from it. Critical analysis of each event develops spontaneously. Each new event is discussed around the fire by the actors and also by the audience.

The foregoing study illustrates the potential of popular theatre for developing participation, critical awareness and self-confidence. The starting point is the identification of the problem. This is drawn out through a process of dialogue with members of the community, then presented through the medium of popular theatre for discussion.

The performance raises the issues only: it is not prescriptive, there are no pre-packaged answers. Working out an appropriate solution is the purpose of the discussion, and this comes only after a critical analysis of the problems themselves. The performance is the starting point—the motivational force—and it should be emphasized that it is the catalyst for a programme of education and action. Used in this deliberately functional sense the art becomes a medium for social transformation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 2

Development is for People: Target Groups and their Programmes

There are 900 million men, women and children in Commonwealth countries of whom 100 million live in rich countries and 800 million in poor ones. At this level, development means a new international order which will narrow the economic gap between the two groups of countries. Next, within the Commonwealth developing countries themselves, 500 million people live in poverty and 300 million in relative affluence. For these countries development means ending this state of inequality and enabling the poor to develop an adequate standard of living. Moreover, in these same countries 60 million people are unemployed, under-employed or thinly employed, and 15 million young people are attempting to enter the labour force every year. Development for them means gainful employment, which in turn means employment at a fair living wage. In this year of grace, 1979, that we have solemnly proclaimed as the International Year of the Child, 150 million of our children below the age of eight exist in conditions of under-nourishment or malnutrition that prevent their intelligence from developing normally. In such conditions development means providing adequate food for these children and their mothers so that Commonwealth citizenship will ensure their common wealth. Again, in our less developed Commonwealth countries, 650 million people live in the politically neglected, economically exploited and socially and culturally starved rural areas, while 150 million people live in relatively well-endowed urban enclaves. Development in these circumstances means some equalization of living conditions between our villages and our cities.

Malcolm Adiseshiah. Opening Address.

It is clear from the policies which are emerging throughout the Commonwealth, that a major characteristic of non-formal education is a concentration on those who have not been well served either by previous development strategies or by the formal education system. It is concerned above all with the drop-outs, left-outs, and failures from formal schools. In countries where there has been an explosive expansion of formal schools, the concentration is on unemployed school-leavers. In countries where the perceived inadequacies of formal education are very great, 'non-formal' includes school-age children as well as adults. Everywhere the problems of illiteracy and the status of women loom large.

This concentration on the most disadvantaged groups links directly with the major development challenge posed above—that of reducing inequalities both between and within countries. And it is this, above all, which links non-formal provision in developing countries with that in the developed. In Britain, for example, problems of youth unemployment have led the Manpower Services Commission (through its Training Services Division) to promote one of the major new growth areas in adult education, namely work-related training both for the unemployed and for those who need retraining in relation to changing employment prospects.[1] These unemployed youth are part of the developed countries' own 'Third World'. However, the major world challenge is clearly with the poorest countries and, within those, with the unemployed, with illiterates and new literates and with women as a whole. In some countries there is also a major concentration on children outside school, the first of four target groups to be considered in detail in this chapter.

Target Group 1: Children Outside School

In much of the Commonwealth, 'non formal' education is synonymous with certain kinds of adult education. Such countries may well have achieved universal primary education or may aim to do so in the foreseeable future. In any case, they feel that the education of adults must be the first concern of their non-formal programmes. In other countries (notably India), the non-formal education of children is given high priority.

Sister Catherine McLevy[2] argues that both educational and social reform may result from a concentration on school-age children. She makes three assumptions:

(a) That development is concerned, not primarily with gross national product, industry, agriculture or commerce, but with people—all the people—and only secondarily with the material and economic relationships reflected in industry, agriculture, etc.

(b) That education tends to perpetuate the values and patterns of the society which established it, so that new forms of education will not be able to take root unless the new society of which they should be a part is at the same time being built by other positive steps besides the reform of education.

> (c) That reform of education cannot wait for the new society to be established, because the other steps necessary cannot be taken on a wide enough scale until large numbers of persons are capable of reflecting critically on society, and of acting in concert to change it for the better, and such persons are not normally found as products of the present system of education.

She goes on:

> Since the present formal system of education is deeply entrenched in the present inequitable structures of society, the only hope for structural change and for ultimately universal educational change lies in the children who either do not enrol in the formal system, or leave it too soon to have their personalities and aptitudes moulded too rigidly by it. If these children can, through nonformal means, develop their potential as individuals, as members of social groupings, as workers, as learners and as thinkers, in an education and environment which enables them to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and freely-chosen values to live by, and if this can be done on a large enough scale to ensure that they are not totally swamped by a basically hostile environment, it may be possible to create, out of the resources now available to mankind, a more wholesome social and material environment in which children of succeeding generations can grow.
>
> The reason why there is a possibility of this lies in the fact that a majority of children in developing countries do not stay in school long enough to submit completely to its indoctrination. The reason why there is no assurance of success lies in the contrary fact that those who must help them to a different type of education, for a different future, are themselves products of the society and the educational system which are seen to be so defective. However, there are, especially among the young, but not only among them, increasing numbers of people who have caught a vision of a new kind of society and an education to match it. Others, suitably oriented and trained, may catch sight of the same vision, and therefore it is worthwhile to reflect on the kind of nonformal education which would help the children of today to grow up into builders of the new society of tomorrow.
>
> The education to be developed must be designed with a clear vision of two points: the starting-point and the goal. The design must indicate who are the children to be educated, where they now are, socially and educationally, and where they can be expected to progress to, within the programme and after it. It must outline the content of the programme to be offered, and the methods by which this content is to be made available for learning if it is to fulfil the defined objectives of the educational programme. The implications of all these things for teaching and learning need to be identified, for failure to consider any of these problems may undermine the effectiveness of the most careful planning in any of the others...
>
> Who are the children who are out of school today? Numerically, they are the majority of the child-population in developing countries, with one or two exceptions, and in developed countries they appear to be a growing minority. If India may be taken as a typical example of a developing country, the pattern will be found to be roughly as follows: of every 100 children attaining the age

of five in any one year, 20 will not enrol in any school. Of those who do enrol, 40 will have left school before the age-group reaches class five, the end of the primary school stage. Of the remainder, only 20 will go up to high school, seven will pass school-final, and not more than three will enter institutions of higher education, either academic or vocational.*

Studies have revealed that the 50 per cent of children who either do not start or do not complete their primary education, are almost exclusively drawn from the families of the poor. A rather higher percentage belong to rural areas, compared with towns and cities, and a very much higher percentage belong to harijan or other 'low-caste' families compared with the 'forward castes'. A very similar pattern will surely be found in many other developing countries, except that in some, the place of harijans will be taken by aboriginals or other 'natives', and in places where the population is more or less homogeneous in origin and language, there will still be poor peasants and labourers who are considered inferior according to standards defined as 'normal' by the middle and upper classes.

The reasons why these children are outside school are manifold, but the first and most fundamental reason is that the society does not really want them there. Studies of income groups and social classes to which those in school belong, and still more those in colleges and other institutions of tertiary education, reveal that those who drop out belong to families with an income of less than Rs.100 per month, while the higher up the educational ladder we go, the higher the income bracket of the average student. A study of the student-population of the Indian Institutes of Technology in the 1960s revealed that the tendency was for the proportion of students from affluent families to increase, while students from families of only moderate income declined. Very poor students are not found in IITs. By 1970, 50 per cent of their students came from families with incomes of more than Rs.1,000 per month, 16 per cent from those having more than Rs.2,000 per month. In other words, more than 60 per cent of the IIT students came from two per cent of the population. Public expenditure on education is also disproportionately generous to the institutions of higher education, which by 1973 claimed nearly 27 per cent of state expenditure on education, while primary education, which is necessarily much larger, received only 43 per cent.

Reasons for dropping out given by the children or their families almost always cite financial difficulties first, and these difficulties underlie almost all the other reasons given. A boy who repeatedly plays truant until he eventually stops going to school altogether, because both parents have to work so there is no one to see that he goes to school, is just as surely the victim of poverty as the one whose parents cannot afford to buy his books and uniforms. The same is true of the girl who has to stay at home to mind the latest baby while her mother works, or the boy in the village who minds a herd of goats, or the city urchin who tries to earn a few coins by collecting scrap paper for sale, or by offering to polish the cars that are parked on the roadside near his home.

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*Figures are not wholly accurate, since they are based on enrolment in each class, which includes, in every year after the first, and even in that year in many places, those who are repeating the year from an older age-group, having 'failed' in the annual examinations.

A majority of these children, once out of school, never return. There are individual cases, it is true, of children from better-off homes who are taken out of school to work (more because that is the custom of the countryside than because of real need) and who wage a battle in the home until they are allowed to return and complete their education. There are also youngsters drawn from among the poorest who doggedly keep on at school and even go to college, taking advantage of scholarships, which so often do not go to the needy. They earn a livelihood in their spare time in whatever way they can, to make up the difference between the scholarship and the expenses.* But the vast majority, when they finally drop out, do so for good.

Besides the drop-outs, there are the push-outs: the children who leave school because their lives there are made miserable, either by the constant experience of failure or by indifference or mockery on the part of the teachers or the other children. In one rural area of Tamil Nadu well-known to the writer, harijan children who attended the village school were always made to sit at the back, were always ignored if they tried to ask questions or answer those of the teacher, were made fun of for their poor clothing, and scolded for their lack of books, so that only the very courageous or the extremely servile could survive until middle school. Failure was of course a normal experience for them, since the attention of the teacher was entirely devoted to the children of 'better' families sitting in front. It is also readily observable that while the number of literates in the caste villages may be anywhere from 30 to 40 per cent, in the harijan colonies it is normally less than ten per cent. And it is rare to find a harijan woman who is educated above class four. This cruelty towards harijans because they are harijans is rare in the city, but harshness towards poor children because they are less clean, or because their uniforms are shabby, or their books torn, is common enough.

If we hope to build a better society in the future these children must be offered a non-formal education, not of a kind to re-introduce them to the formal system, but of a radically different nature, one which will help them to understand the world they live in, but which will also develop their capacities to reflect critically upon that world and to act upon it effectively for change towards greater equality, justice and harmony. There is a risk that if non-formal education is not directed towards the re-integration of its students into the formal system, the idea will grow that this is a second-class education for the children of second-class citizens, but if the programmes are well conducted for the pursuit of their own goals, the children of the poor can grow up more self-confident and more united than their parents, while those who prove to have aptitude and taste for academic studies will be able to find access to the 'Open University' without having gone through the formal system at all. The Open University will have to be better developed, but a beginning has already been made.

Enough has already been said to indicate that the aims of non-formal education should be different from those of the formal system. It should enable the students to acquire mastery of learning skills, particularly those of language and numeracy, and should do this through interesting and relevant activities. Relevance implies that the education offered bears a relationship to the children's environment. However, this is not to be construed to mean that their horizons should be narrowed to the limits of their own village and the work their ancestors have always done in it with the simple dressing of additional skills to make a marginal improvement in the village economy. On the contrary, non-formal education should lay the foundations for critical reflection on work and the way it is done, on society and the way it functions, so that as the children grow to maturity they can play a conscious and intelligent part in shaping their own lives and of those around them. It should aim to bring about at the local level a more genuinely egalitarian and democratic organization of society, with a conscious purpose of using this as the foundation for similar change in the wider society incorporating the region, the nation and the world. A basic understanding of the forces operating in the society outside the confines of the village is as essential to this purpose as it is to the proper development of the children as human persons, fully individual and at the same time fully responsible members of society.

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*It is questionable whether this is good or bad. The capacities of these young people tend to be taken up with the effort to attain personal success inside the present structures of society. Thus potential leaders of the poor in the effort for change of structures which are inequitable, are absorbed into the structures themselves.

Like Sister McLevy, Tom Mulusa is also concerned for the future improvement of formal education as well as providing for non-formal alternatives.[3] He has drawn attention to the fact that curriculum development centres and projects have been established both at national and international levels to review school education on an ongoing basis, and, at the same time, small-scale innovative projects have been mounted in different developing countries to influence the rate and direction of educational reform. He writes:

> In 1967 UNESCO sponsored the Namutamba project in Uganda to investigate the adaptation of primary education for development of rural areas.[4] At maturity it was anticipated that the Namutamba project would evolve a system of education which would produce school leavers who would become job-makers, and not job-seekers. In Tanzania several innovative projects have been tried within the country's policy of education for self reliance. The Kwamsisi Community School project, for instance, attempts to integrate a primary school into the community it serves by increasing interaction between school children and teachers on one hand and the surrounding villagers on the other.[5] Perhaps one of the most far-reaching innovations in the last decade has been the replacement of the traditional school subjects at Swaneng Hill School in Botswana with new subjects such as cultural studies, development studies, modern society, etc.[6]

However, much needs to be done now for children who have either not been to school at all, or for whom the formal system makes little relevant provision. The Delhi Conference was much concerned that non-formal education should give children and young people outside the school a sense of place and purpose in their society. In meeting their learning needs non-formal education should aim to provide functional skills for personal development, for employment and for community life, through content and by methods that will contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards co-operation with others, towards work and national development, towards self-improvement.

For children in the younger age groups, the emphasis of non-formal education should be on meeting basic, social and learning needs related to local social, cultural and community conditions. The value of play and recreation should be recognized as ways of developing inter-personal, practical and creative skills.

For those among them who have had some formal education, the desire to rejoin the formal stream of education may provide the basic motivation for participation in non-formal education where re-entry programmes can be devised to help them overcome their deprivation. To back up development of this kind it is essential that non-formal education and the formal school system are complementary and that links exist or are created to permit mobility and comparability between the two. Measures to forge such links should focus on curriculum content, methods of assessment and certification, entry requirements and re-entry opportunities in the school system. In line with this, the possibility of non-formal education emerging as an alternative channel of learning in its own right cannot be overlooked. Relations with the formal system are considered in Chapter 5.

For those considered by their communities to be in the productive age range, the emphasis in non-formal education should be on imparting skills for productive work. Bearing in mind the current pattern of youth unemployment, this group needs knowledge and understanding that will not only contribute to wage employment but also self-employment. One of the most neglected aspects in such programmes is the development of skills for management and project planning. At the same time non-formal education for this group should cater for their social and personal needs.

Non-formal education for school age children thus merges into provision for unemployed youth. Each group is part of the general problem of an inadequate primary schooling and a mis-match between schooling and employment prospects.

Special sections of the out-of-school population, such as the physically handicapped, should as far as possible be integrated into existing programmes of formal and non-formal education. In those communities where such people tend to be kept in the background, this may require their recruitment to non-formal education at an early age.

If school drop-outs are a reflection of the inefficiency of the formal system to meet their needs, it is essential to parallel the provision of programmes of non-formal education for children out of school with measures to improve efficiency in the formal sector of education. To reduce the drop-out rate in the formal sector of education, it is necessary to ensure that school curricula are relevant to the needs of the local communities, and appropriate to the capabilities of the children in the different age groups.

It is equally important to improve the efficiency of the teaching and learning processes, through adoption of child centred approaches. For this purpose it is necessary for teachers in the formal system, as in the non-formal sector, to understand traditional modes of communication in the community where the programmes are organized and to use these in the teaching process as appropriate.

Target Group 2: Unemployed Youth

However good the programmes for school-age children may be, and however laudable the progress towards the reform of formal schools, the latter are still producing—often in increasing numbers—school leavers who cannot be readily absorbed into employment. Many existing non-formal programmes have been devised for these unemployed school leavers, and the case study included below from Fiji is mainly concerned with them. Nevertheless, an even more intractable problem concerns youth who have not even been to school and who lack both education and employment prospects. As Philip Mbithi has noted[7] 'there is systematic and deliberate neglect of the 40% who never go to school or drop out early in a decade where internationally there is growing concern with the lower 40% of our population'.

In its Conference paper, the Commonwealth Secretariat Youth Division reports that:

> A brief check of youth programme developments since 1975 suggests that the situation has changed very little. For the most part young people who have never been to school, or who have lapsed into illiteracy after brief attendance, are still a neglected group. Looked at in global terms, the numbers so affected are substantial, though naturally the situation varies widely from country to country and from region to region. According to recent UNESCO estimates[8] there will be about 73 million illiterate young people aged 15–19 years in the world in 1980, 60 per cent of them females. They will comprise just part of an estimated total of 814 million illiterate adults, most of them in the younger age groups, with 20–40 years of active life ahead of them.
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> While the numbers are particularly high in South Asia, where almost a third of the world's illiterates are to be found, pockets of illiteracy exist among deprived people in most Commonwealth countries, including the industrialized nations. Indeed Leon Bataille, Executive Secretary of the International Coordination Secretariat for Literacy, recently wrote that 'the geographical distribution of adult illiteracy is practically identical to that of hunger and want'.[9] The situation is particularly serious where it matches marked inequalities in access to education provision among tribal or ethnic groups, between the sexes, and in different geographical regions within a country.

It was concern with the educational deprivation of people in the rural areas of developing countries which prompted UNICEF and the World Bank to commission the two studies by the International Council for Educational Development.[10] Focusing on how non-formal education can help break the cycle of rural poverty, a functional view of non-formal education was adopted, with the emphasis on the kinds of programmes which offer most potential for improving not only agricultural productivity but also general conditions of living. In terms of education strategy both studies conclude that non-formal education can contribute to both short- and long-term objectives for rural development, but that a better balance should be sought, between immediate and longer term production increases, between urgently needed immediate efforts that are bound to benefit, initially, the less needy, and other kinds of efforts aimed squarely at attacking rural poverty and social injustice.

One of the most innovative measures of a short-term nature, suggested was to find ways of making informal education more purposeful by enriching the rural learning environment of both literates and non-literates. In other words, more deliberate attempts could be made to provide useful and relevant knowledge and skills through those channels which are the source of the majority of learning in everyones lives—the family, the market-place, work and play, the mass media, etc.

Since 1973 radio and television have received considerable attention to this end. The World Bank, for instance, recently produced a number of case studies on use of radio for non-formal education[11] while the findings of a detailed eleven-country study of broadcasting for development, undertaken by the Department of Adult Education, University of Manchester, was reported in 1978.[12] The report identified a number of problems inhibiting the effectiveness of broadcasting as a medium for out-of-school education. In particular it referred to television not only as 'a millstone around radio's neck' but also as 'an unconscionable abuse and waste of scarce resources for purposes of prestige and short-term political gain'. As for radio, the study advised that its role should be reinforced, particularly in rural areas through, among other things, an up-grading of the role and status of the local educational broadcaster, much closer co-operation between broadcasters and ministries concerned with development planning, and far more local production of materials to suit the needs of particular groups in the community. It is also found that effective educational broadcasting is generally audience specific, conveys specialized content relevant to local needs, and should be in the right language for the local audience. This, it pointed out, can only be done if material is produced locally.

Some countries have developed positive policies along these lines, including special programmes for young audiences. The radio-study campaigns launched as part of the fundamental adult education and development strategy in Tanzania in 1970, are well known for their successful use of village-level listening groups. The Tanzanian approach has used local forums to study selected issues over a limited duration, thus avoiding the loss of motivation and impetus that has characterized other schemes based on radio learning groups. Campaign issues are selected in terms of priority for the goals of the national plan, and have covered both political education and themes intended to meet basic needs of the population. Local listening groups, which have included large numbers of non-literates, are led by someone selected by the group itself, thus avoiding a built-in teacher-pupil structure and increasing group participation in the learning process.

Returning now to unemployed school leavers, a main thrust in existing programmes for this group is towards the generation of opportunities for self-employment; this is because many such school leavers have been educated to accept wage or salary employment and it is often difficult for them to conceive of alternatives. Such programmes are often only palliative in that youth unemployment is merely part of a much wider structural problem. Nevertheless, some progress has been made in a number of countries.

One example of this type of programme is provided by the village polytechnic movement in Kenya. Village polytechnics were started in the late 1960s as multi-purpose low-cost training centres designed not merely to give useful skills to school leavers but also to motivate them to create employment opportunities for themselves; this was supposed to happen by the provision of goods and services needed in their immediate neighbourhoods. By 1978 there were over 200 such VPs in Kenya offering a range of skills which include tailoring, carpentry, home economics and metalwork. Although some of the VPs have undoubtedly succeeded in their original aim of generating rural self-employment, it also has to be admitted that many individual students who have passed through them have sought and found work in the urban areas rather than remaining in their neighbourhoods to promote rural development. It must be concluded that while this kind of non-formal education does have a role to play in rural employment creation, there is also the potential danger of the non-formal education becoming formalized and thus providing similar skills and motivation to those already stimulated by formal schools. This danger can be avoided as the following study shows.

Case Study: A Fijian Alternative to Formal Schooling (N. H. Dalailomaloma)
The central emphasis of the Rural Youth Programme is not training *per se* but rather the development of economic, social and cultural activities which will lead to a more satisfying and productive life within the rural community. Training is essential only to supplement these activities and where necessary is provided on site by government youth officers, agricultural extension officers, co-operative field personnel, local businessmen—in fact by anyone with a useful skill or knowledge that can be passed on to others. The only areas for which short institutional courses (centred in rural community centres) have been utilized are for the theoretical aspects of management, planning and programming, project evaluation, book-keeping, report writing and other basic organizational skills, for both volunteer leaders and club members.

Personnel
In the initial stages of the development of the Rural Youth Programme one of the most serious limiting factors encountered was the shortage of trained and

experienced trainers and youth workers. High priority was therefore given to this aspect of our efforts and full use was made of the three Commonwealth Youth Development Centres in Georgetown, Chandigarh and Lusaka to train Government Youth Officers.

At the same time the government developed sandwich training programmes for non-government youth workers operating at district level on a salary grant from the government, and short courses for volunteer leaders at club level. Because of the general embargo on new posts in government and the institution of the Commonwealth Diploma in Youth Work at the University of the South Pacific, it is planned to provide all 91 district youth workers with this higher level of training.

Facilities and Equipment

One factor responsible for reducing the cost of this programme is the utilization of existing facilities such as schools and churches for training programmes where it has been necessary to use such facilities. In areas where there are no such facilities, training is conducted in rural community centres built mainly from local materials, and for which the government has provided grants for the purchase of non-local building materials, and equipment.

The provision of equipment such as small farm tools, chain saws, knapsack sprayers, wire strainers, and, in the sugar growing areas, tractors, is seen as a more important function of government than the provision of materials for buildings. This, coupled with innovations in the use of local raw materials for the establishment of projects, has helped to greatly reduce the cost of the rural youth programme (e.g. one club has been able to build an $11,000 egg-laying unit to house 540 chickens for approximately $5,000.

Supportive Services

It has been necessary to enlist the support of a number of agencies whose major function is not education. These include:

(a) The mass media for maintaining public interest in and support for a rural programme and in some cases for the dissemination of training materials.

(b) The extension agencies of government involved in rural development for technical advice needed for rural youth projects.

(c) Other agencies such as the Fiji Development Bank whose services may be required for the successful application of newly acquired skills through development loans for specific economic projects. To qualify for this kind of assistance it has been necessary to investigate the formation of youth co-operatives to give youth groups the legal status they require before they can enter into any kind of legal transaction with funding agencies.

Finance

Although the cost of running the rural youth programme in Fiji is relatively low (averaging about $2 per youth participant per year) it is nevertheless necessary for adequate finance to be always available for any variations in the programme, and for forward planning. Furthermore, because of the strings attached to overseas aid packages, making many of them quite irrelevant to our purpose, we have attempted to fund our total programme from local sources. Unfortunately the government's commitment to formal schooling still takes precedence over non-formal education programmes for youth out of school; therefore there are never any funds available for variations or for forward planning.

Co-ordination

Although most of the inputs needed for the development of youth work in Fiji have originated from government, all youth groups formed and aided in this way are not labelled 'government' but remain outside the government structure. As the number of rural youth groups grew, it was necessary first to devise district co-ordinating bodies (Rural Youth Councils) to which all the youth groups are now affiliated for ease of supervision and assistance. As the number of district co-ordinating bodies grew, it became necessary to establish a national co-ordinating body called the Association of Rural Youth Councils of Fiji.

Effective co-ordination depends not only on the establishment of a satisfactory structure but equally on the spirit in which government and non-government representatives meet and operate. There must be a spirit of partnership with the responsibility for growth resting on both partners for development to take place. This is especially important in Fiji where many of the resources needed for youth development are unobtainable within the government system.

The effective management and administration of our national rural youth programme will therefore depend on the clear definition of the roles of government and non-government organizations, and it is hoped that this will finally be achieved with the formation of the National Youth Forum. At this point in time it is envisaged that government's main role, once the programme has been fully established, will be to provide supportive services in the form of:

(a) Training in vocational and leadership skills for paid and voluntary workers.
(b) Mass media and literature support.
(c) Grants and subsidies toward: (i) salaries and operating costs of workers employed by voluntary organizations; (ii) project inputs; (iii) construction and maintenance of training facilities; (iv) purchase and maintenance of equipment; (v) field days, project competitions, etc.; (vi) administrative expense; and (vii) exchange schemes with countries which have similar socio-economic conditions and problems.
(d) Specialist advice and assistance.
(e) Evaluation and research services.

Conclusion

Effective programmes for out-of-school rural youth cannot be planned and operated in isolation. They must be an integral part of a country's total education programme and through this, a part of the national plans for rural development.

Strategies should be linked with the formal education system so that each is mutually supportive. For example, formal-system teachers, classrooms, and even equipment may be made available after school hours. The teacher training colleges can play a part in preparing teachers for their wider role as community educators. On the other hand, the youth programme may supplement the learning in the formal school. In Fiji, for example, a course in modern studies is being introduced into Forms III and IV in secondary schools. Its main purpose is to demonstrate the relevance of the whole curriculum to community activities. These activities are developed at the school through projects. School leavers motivated by their participation in a modern studies project may find in a rural youth programme opportunities for developing their own enterprises which could well provide the basis of their future livelihood.

Integration into national plans for rural development is equally essential. It is only by such integration that the supportive services necessary for the successful application of newly acquired knowledge and skills are likely to be provided. Training is only one of a number of factors required for successful development. Furthermore, it is only by such integration that the valuable human resource youth represents can be fully harnessed for national development.

At the other end of the scale—the local community—integration is also essential. A fear is often expressed that concentration on youth as a group can lead to a further fracturing of the community. In many cases the problem is solved by the whole community participating in the youth programme. This has occurred in Fiji in all areas where government has established the rural youth programme. Where this total community participation does not evolve, steps will be necessary to involve the adults, including traditional leaders, in an advisory role.

Training out-of-school rural youth is very much in the experimental stage. In Fiji it is not backed by the same body of knowledge and experience as formal education although there is a growing awareness of the urgent need to develop for rural youth new approaches to learning. Whatever the new approach is, we are convinced by our experience that if it is not initially linked with production for economic returns it will not be acceptable.

The Fiji programme is now in the process of being evaluated. Some Rural Youth Councils have moved from more efficient subsistence activities into the area of small business as youth co-operatives, and are now earning for their members the kind of money that they would never have earned otherwise. Where the programme has failed the most glaring reason has been the lack of suitable local leadership. No doubt other reasons for failure will emerge after the completion of the evaluation.

Target Group 3: Adult Illiterates and New Literates

It is possible to classify target groups within the broad range of adult illiterates and new literates in a number of ways. For example, by age, by occupational background and interest, by geographical location (e.g. rural, urban, tribal, nomadic) or by special groups (e.g. women, the disabled, long-term prisoners). However, there are problems in making such classifications as programmes that are developed for one group may also have relevance to other groups. For example, a literacy programme may attract both older and younger members in a community; it may also attract men and women and be of interest to a variety of occupational groups. Classification is sometimes of more concern to the planner than to the group for which a programme is prepared, and planners can in fact create a 'reality' which is imaginary in the first place and develop non-formal educational activities for a 'group' that in a real sense does not exist. To categorize people as a target group does not necessarily give them homogeneity.

In view of this, it is better to think of categories of programme rather than categories of target group and see how such programmes can meet the needs of the various groups of individuals who comprise adult illiterates and new literates. Target groups should thus be seen as examples of users rather than as focal points of planning.

Successful programmes must be built around the individual needs of those for whom they are intended and the economic realities and needs of local communities as identified by them. Such needs must be identified through a process of interaction with the participants. Appropriate programmes must be need-based and it is necessary that they should, in general, be congruent with area, regional and national policy since non-formal education activities should be aimed at both the quality of life and the standard of living in a community. This distinction between individual needs and overall societal needs is an important issue in planning programmes for adult literates and new literates.

The necessity of ensuring congruence between individual and societal needs emerges clearly from John Bowers' paper.[13] He points out that education is essentially a communication process and literacy is thus 'a communication skill—the ability to use the sign system of written language for encoding and transmitting messages and receiving and decoding them'. He continues:

> Thus seen it takes its place alongside parallel and complementary communication skills, particularly the effective use of spoken language and the ability to understand pictures.
>
> The acquisition of literacy not only expands the individual's range of communication through space and time, it also opens up new opportunities for learning, access to knowledge, and the ability to store and retrieve information and advance understanding. In a society where literacy is used and valued it enhances the individual's status and self-respect, and in communities where a significant number of people are literate it opens up alternative channels for the communication of knowledge and skills. Seen thus as an expansion of the range of human communication, the benefits of literacy are continuous and far-reaching but almost impossible to measure.
>
> Correlations between illiteracy and poverty appear in national development statistics everywhere. Everett Rogers[14] records correlations between literacy 'innovativeness' and a range of other attributes conducive to 'modernization'. Yet the causal relationships still elude us and we have no firm answers to the crude questions: is a country richer because it is literate or vice versa? Is a person 'progressive' because he or she is literate or vice versa? Still less can we

answer the subtler supplementary question—'Why?'. Certainly there is room for more, and more rigorous, research on the effects of literacy at various levels on learning, information processing, concept formation, attitude formation and change, and thereby on individual, social and economic development...

If literacy is hard to attain, even in the learner's own language, it is unfortunately very easily lost unless it is regularly used. There is evidence that children with less than four years schooling returning to a largely illiterate environment rapidly regress into illiteracy with all that this implies in discouragement and wasted effort.

In communities where there is very little opportunity to use literacy—and this goes for many rural communities—the illiterate adult does not feel himself disadvantaged and may have little motivation to become literate or to maintain literacy once he has acquired it. Conversely in literate societies, and especially in urban environments, the illiterate adult suffers real and evident disadvantages. So motivation to learn reading and writing, and to sustain these skills, is positively influenced if opportunities are provided to practice and develop them; adult literacy should thus be conceived and planned as a component in a broader programme of non-formal adult education and cultural development.

With expansion of formal schooling in most countries, it is unlikely that any but the more remote rural communities now remain totally illiterate. However the inadequacy of so much primary schooling, and the high drop-out rates, added to the fact that there is little opportunity to use literacy, may together result in a situation where many of the adults are 'lapsed' literates, or semi-literates, whilst others who have had no access to schooling or adult education, remain totally illiterate. So programmes of non-formal education will have to cater for different levels of literacy from zero upwards.

Illiteracy is, with few exceptions the result of an unfavourable environment, often associated with poverty, but not to be correlated with lack of intelligence, experience or aptitudes in the adult illiterates themselves. There is therefore every reason for educational planners and 'change agents' to avoid all arrogance or paternalism in their dealings with adult illiterates and to respect their experience and listen to their views. The planning and provision of non-formal education for adult illiterates and its content should therefore involve dialogue between educators and those they seek to benefit, so that knowledge and skills generated by research can be integrated with, and tested against, the intuition and experience of those who will eventually have to apply them in their daily lives and work.

Faced with these complex considerations, great diversity of clients, cultures and environments, and often inadequate information, how can those responsible for non-formal education set about planning and providing learning opportunities for the disadvantaged and illiterate? In what circumstances should literacy be a primary component in non-formal education?...

In the following sections we consider a number of adult education and non-formal education programmes, some of their advantages, disadvantages and possibilities, and suggest certain areas of research and development which might help non-formal education to open up communication and learning opportunities for the illiterate and disadvantaged.

Mass Literacy Campaigns

The industrialized countries have achieved a high level of literacy, mainly through universal primary education. The eradication of widespread adult illiteracy, however, is a task of considerable magnitude, which has only been achieved, in the aftermath of socialist revolutions, by a comparatively small number of nations, including the USSR and Cuba. Cuba started with several advantages—including not very high illiteracy, variously assessed from 22 to 50 per cent, and a single phonetically regular, national language with an extensive literature. Nevertheless the campaign showed spectacular results for reasons rather similar to those which contributed to success 20 years or so earlier in the USSR. These probably included: a charismatic national leader decreeing mass literacy; well-graded teaching materials and teacher's guides prepared by a highly qualified team of educators and distributed and used throughout the programme; motivation of illiterates linked with the dynamics and social pressures of the revolution; content of teaching and reading materials emotively linked to land reform and the eradication of capitalism; clear and simple aims—teaching literacy and numeracy to fourth-grade standard and revolutionary awareness; cost not considered; social pressure on literates to volunteer for teaching illiterates, to the point that, in the 'Year of Education', schools and universities were largely closed to facilitate this; the communication network of party cells used to identify illiterates, mobilize literates, distribute materials and organize and monitor the programme; a strong sense of discipline, governing, for example, the duties of teachers in uniform organized into literacy brigades; fairly rapid creation of appropriate reading matter, and provision of adult education and training facilities for the post-literacy period—'The Year of the Sixth Grade'.

Reports from Tanzania indicate that the transformation of the UNESCO-sponsored Mwanza pilot project into a national mass literacy campaign has been greatly facilitated by the TANU network of party cells, reaching to every ten families, through which literacy groups choose their own teachers and send them for training. The Government of India has recently announced its intention of bringing education to 100 million illiterate adults in five years. It will face enormous problems in tackling this task, largely by voluntary effort, in 17 major languages.

Selective, Work-Orientated, Functional Literacy

In 1963 the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations General Assembly called upon UNESCO to launch a world campaign for the eradication of mass illiteracy. The estimated cost of imparting basic literacy to over 700 million illiterate adults, presented by the Secretariat of UNESCO to the UN Economic and Social Council, was regarded as unacceptable, and this, combined with low success rates of mass literacy campaigns in the non-communist world, led UNESCO to propose, in the World Conference on the Eradication of Illiteracy in Tehran in 1965, a new strategy which was to pave the way for a possible world campaign. This was a 'selective', 'intensive' strategy for 'functional' literacy, which was applied in the Experimental World Literacy Programme and which was subjected to critical assessment on its conclusion. Partly in order to draw the financial support of the UN Development Programme, which eventually provided US$1,327,300, the term 'functional literacy' was equated with 'work-oriented literacy' ('WOL') and in WOL the teaching of literacy was integrated with training for work and linked to economic development...

What then were its main features? Motivation on the part of the providing agencies was linked to increased productivity, and an explicit aim of the Experimental World Literacy Programme was to evaluate the effects of literacy on development. Motivation of illiterate adults was based on expectations of improved living standards. There was an assumption that adults would want to learn to read, write and calculate in the vocabulary of their daily work, and would appreciate the value of literacy if they could use it as they learnt it, to increase their work efficiency and eventually their wage packets or their levels of subsistence. Unfortunately there were few situations in which an increase of prosperity immediately resulted from elementary literacy. And in many urban situations adults struggling to acquire literacy had to compete for jobs or promotion with literate primary school leavers. In certain projects field demonstration, more or less related to literacy, contributed to adoption of new practices by older and independent farmers, and in certain industries (e.g. mining) motivation was evidently high for job training-cum-literacy undertaken in working time with a wage-bonus at the end. The content of the so called literacy programmes was generally a package of reading, writing, arithmetic, work training and elements of health and social education. The teaching and training materials proved difficult and costly to prepare, involving research in rural environments and industries, and planning by teams of subject-matter specialists, technical training instructors, literacy specialists, writers and illustrators. The 'selective' strategy raised invidious questions as to who should be selected and why. It also required separate WOL packages to be specifically prepared for chosen groups and occupations and this added further to the cost (e.g. nineteen separate programmes were used in Guinea). A multiplicity of responsible departments and agencies were involved, thus increasing the complexity of administration. The methods ranged from class teaching to field demonstration and included the use of various audio-visual aids. The amalgamation, and more still the synchronization, of literacy teaching with work instruction was an added complication, and, as some of the training manuals show, the level and speed of work training was held down by the elementary level of the literacy. The choice and training of teachers proved even more controversial in WOL than in other adult literacy; Ethiopia and Tanzania employed school teachers, Mali did not; volunteers and primary teachers, who could be trained to teach basic literacy, lacked knowledge of the technical content for WOL; at the same time it proved wasteful, and often impossible, to employ qualified instructors and extension workers to teach reading and writing. In common with other adult literacy programmes, WOL often met the problem of multiplicity of languages. Policies varied. Ethiopia and Tanzania used the national language, facing thereby the task of teaching literacy in a language which was not the mother tongue in several areas. Mali used five local languages.

The very critical assessment of WOL published by UNESCO[15] suggests that valuable lessons were learnt, though many of them were about what not to do and at very high cost.

Literacy and 'Conscientization'

A vital contribution to the philosophy and practice of adult literacy has been made by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Both aspects are described and analysed in three of his books.[16]

In this section we can do no more than give a brief and necessarily inadequate summary of the key concepts of Freire's theory combined with an outline of his methods.

For Freire, all education, but particularly the education of adults, should be a process not of 'banking' or 'depositing' by a teacher in blank or passive minds, but of *dialogue* between the learner/participants and the co-ordinator of a learning group. It may be agreed that good adult education and community development have always involved this process but it had not been transposed into the general body of thinking about literacy until it was given new impetus and theoretical backing by Freire.

In promoting dialogue the educator often has to deal with what Freire calls the 'culture of silence'—the passivity or fear of the learners, the long conditioning to silence of the 'marginalized'. The learners need to find in the literacy group not only the written word but the spoken word—not alien words of others but their own words. In many African and Asian situations the culture of the masses may not be as marginalized or as 'silent' as that of landless peasants or shanty town dwellers of Brazil.

The process of dialogue is also one of 'conscientization'— the awakening of a critical and not a naive or mythical interpretation of reality, of the total life situation and even of the broader socio-economic context of the participants. Discussions must do more than enable learners to describe a situation and express opinions or even emotions. The co-ordinator must help them to define problems, to analyse them and to design solutions, in Freire's terms to *problematize*.

Conscientization and problematization should lead on to *praxis:* to action and reflection beyond the learning situation. This could include practical undertakings such as the formation of self-help projects or co-operatives, involvement in local or national political activity, personal advancement through further study or training and changes in the individual's life situation and goals, hopefully in a spirit of community involvement and service.

At the time of writing his major books, Freire saw the process of conscientization as closely tied to the process of becoming literate. There are indications in his latest book[17] that he has become prepared to modify this position. Conscientization, whether in the literacy process or outside it, is approached by inviting groups to reflect upon visual or aural 'codes'—posters or slides or stories told live or on tape, illustrating a generative theme—aspects of the life situation such as housing, water supply, family relationships or political participation.

These generative themes are not, as is sometimes supposed, generated by the co-ordinators from within the learning groups, but are the result of careful research into the socio-economic situation and the socio-linguistic universe by trained investigators in dialogue with the local people, carried out before the programme is launched.

It is at this point that Freire's methodology of literacy emerges. It can be summarized as follows:

(a) *The code*, a visual or oral presentation, expresses the generative theme.
(b) *The generative theme* (e.g. housing) is expressed by the generative word (e.g. house).
(c) *The generative word* is the basis for learning to read and write as an authentic act of communication.

The generative word is a word which focuses the theme, as the word 'house' would focus 'housing'. The generative word is also used as a key word in teaching basic reading using syllables and words which the learners compose from them. It is doubly generative, in that it focuses the responses already aroused in the discussion and also generates new words. After treating a number of generative themes and words in this way the learners begin to read continously and after some weeks they are able to write short continuous statements or stories of say five to ten lines.

The learners thus see writing immediately not as mechanical copying but as expansion of the spoken word and as an act of communication. As the learners write longer pieces, these can be mimeographed or written up on large sheets to be used for reading practice. This means that there is less need than in traditional literacy programmes for specially printed easy reading material in the early stages. Later reading material will be needed to provide a transition to independent reading. Freire certainly sees a need for a professional unit producing this material in an ongoing way. It is in its emphasis on dialogue and on creative use of language that Freire's approach may well leave its most lasting legacy.

Problems and Trends in Adult Literacy

The problem of mass literacy is likely to face governments and educators in many countries for many years as population growth continues to outpace the expansion of school systems. Decisions will therefore be needed on the allocation of scarce resources between formal and non-formal education, and, within the non-formal sector, between adult literacy and other programmes. The major problems which face the planners of adult literacy programmes have much in common—their solution will vary widely between countries and cultures. Should emphasis be on mass campaigns or selective approaches, on involvement of government or on non-governmental effort, or on a combination of these? In multi-lingual areas, in what language or languages should literacy be taught and learnt? Who should be enrolled as literacy teachers or co-ordinators? How and how long should they be trained? What remuneration, if any, should they receive?

The determination of the aims and content of the programme will be related to the political climate and the availability of personnel.

The work-oriented programmes of UNESCO faced an often insoluble problem of finding instructors who could combine literacy teaching with occupational or agricultural training. Similar difficulties may well occur in programmes following the Freire method in finding and training co-ordinators who can sustain the dynamism of conscientization and synchronize it with the teaching or reading and writing in a relationship of dialogue with the learners. It may be that the literacy teaching process does not benefit from being closely combined with technical training or even with conscientization. A simpler approach might be worth trying, which concentrates initially on literacy—

developing the communication skill of reading and writing, with content based on research into learners' needs and interests, and then leads on to diversified learning opportunities. The literacy programme would thus be planned as part of a continuing non-formal education and training programme.

The aims and content of the literacy programme are, of course, closely related to the learners' motivation. It may here be helpful to distinguish internal and external motivation—the first arising within the programme, the second depending on its eventual rewards. Among the factors which will motivate adults to come and stay, perhaps the most important is a teacher or co-ordinator who establishes an open, democratic, empathetic relationship with the learners, creating the atmosphere of a study group rather than a class, and who stays with the group. Especially where teachers are not highly trained, good teaching and learning materials will be important. Finally adequate funds and material resources will be essential, such as money for lamps and oil without which evening meetings in many areas will break down.

External motivation will largely depend upon the extent to which the learner finds opportunities to use his new found mastery of reading and writing in his family and community. So adult literacy programmes would be seen as components in a broader scheme of non-formal education, training and cultural development. The traditional practice of starting adult literacy campaigns and then conceiving follow-up activities might well be reversed. The first task of planners of non-formal education might be to establish a range of educational and training facilities, some requiring literacy, and expanding the availability of reading matter in the community by a subsidized or government financed publishing programme. In the following sections we look at several types of non-formal education and training programmes, which can be adapted for adult illiterates as well as for others with varying levels of education.

Extension and Related Services

Agricultural extension has traditionally relied on face-to-face contact between field staff and farmers on their farms, in groups and meetings, in young farmers' clubs or on farm visits. On these occasions oral communication may be supplemented by method demonstration and result demonstration and occasionally reinforced by films, slides or other visual aids. Similar methods are used by other services, for example, health education of the public, and family planning and nutrition education programmes.

These programmes, in which extension agents are trained and paid to transmit scientific knowledge and practical skills to farmers and other groups of the rural population, have the advantage of immediate 'rapport' and direct feedback but also many attendant problems. Among these are:

(a) The number and high cost of staff and vehicles needed to contact scattered rural populations.

(b) The low status and motivation—and isolation—of many front-line workers, and their low credibility, where, as often, they are younger and less experienced than many of their clients.

(c) The education and culture gap between educated government extension staff and adult illiterates, often accentuated by the status-consciousness of the government staff.

(d) The proneness of extension staff to help the richer more accessible of their 'clients' and to ignore the poorest.

(e) The complexity of rural development, and of the research and information needed to support it, and the consequent difficulty of formulating 'development messages' that are appropriate to particular groups of rural people, especially the poorest.

(f) The transient nature of the spoken word and the information loss and distortion that generally results when information is transmitted by spoken language.

The problems are not in themselves insuperable and in many places have been at least partially overcome.

A more radical criticism has been made by Freire in his essay 'Extension or Communication', particularly that the concept (and often the practice) of 'extension' implies a top-down mechanistic process of transferring extraneous knowledge to people and manipulating their attitudes—treating them as objects rather than as subjects in a learning process. Whether or not the term 'communication' is preferred to 'extension', there is every reason to try to improve the practice. Among possible improvements are the following:

(a) Better management of extension services, especially in staff relations, recruitment procedures*, remuneration and working conditions, transport, technical support and general maintenance of morale.

(b) Training of field staff to communicate with rural people, especially to consult, listen to and respect them and to give due attention to the disadvantaged and illiterate.

(c) Training of senior staff to seek, accept and act upon feedback from field staff and rural people.

(d) Ensuring that field staff have sufficient technical knowledge to provide useful information to farmers and respond to their questions.

(e) Improved communication between research staff, specialists, advisers and field staff.

(f) Field testing of innovations in various environments, so that what is proposed to rural people is appropriate and acceptable.

(g) Media support for field staff with training manuals, handbooks and useful audio-visual aids.

(h) Participatory action research to discover the needs, interests, knowledge, attitudes and practices of the rural population and to evaluate the effectiveness of communication with them.

(i) Consultation, action research and feedback to enable rural people to determine the content of communication—to express their views on what they wish to know and learn.

(j) Encouragement of feedback from the rural population, involving rural people as teachers as well as learners.

(k) Giving selected or elected members of the community the status of leading farmers, animateurs, field assistants or demonstrators, with or without remuneration.

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*In Tanzania, the local community selects and employs its own extension agents.

(l) Setting up of permanent structures for two-way communication, associations, clubs, learning groups, etc.
(m) Using these, as well as communication media, to enable rural people to communicate 'horizontally'—to talk to each other and share their experiences.

In health education it has been found that illiterate mothers may be more effective than trained health workers in teaching other mothers what they themselves have recently learnt about improved methods of child care and nutrition.

Although the examples of agricultural extension and health education have been used, learning can extend into all areas of useful knowledge, including social education and political education. 'Conscientization', although linked by Freire to literacy teaching, can also be used to lead people to an awareness of their situation and problems, to the ability to 'name the world' and 'control their environment', without reference to literacy.

If the importance of literacy is recognized, non-formal and traditionally non-literate education programmes might well encourage the use of written language and so motivate illiterate adults to expand their communication skills by learning to read and write.

Occupational, Technical and Craft Training Courses

A more formal area of non-formal education appropriate to illiterate as well as literate adults is the field of occupational, technical and craft training. A whole range of organized courses, often residential, can be made available for training in agriculture and other occupations, small industries and crafts. Intermediate technology may well have a special place in these training programmes.

This area, like extension, has its attendant problems, for example:

(a) The difficulty of making training relevant, and relating it to employment opportunities.
(b) The danger, when expanding traditional local crafts or introducing innovations, of over-production or pricing the products out of the local market.
(c) The danger of destroying inspiration through formal training, corrupting traditional art with foreign influence and rewarding quantity rather than quality.
(d) Conversely the difficulty of expanding small-scale local production to satisfy export requirements or the tourist market.
(e) The financial and logistical problems of staffing, equipping and organizing training courses and the reluctance, or inability, of poorer people or those in remote areas to take advantage of them.

In developing this type of training, especially for adult illiterates, preliminary study, action research and market research, will be crucial to ensure that the content of training is relevant to future employment opportunities, and that any new technology or practices to be introduced are fully tested and proven, are appropriate to the environment, can be mastered by learners and will be economically viable. Many of the skills and practices, for example in modern farming or basic mechanical repair work, will inevitably be imported but there should also be opportunities to improve local skills and designs for local materials and tools to be used and passed on by local craftsmen through courses of apprenticeships.

Target Group 4: Women and Girls

The tone of the Delhi Conference report and the number of resolutions pertaining to women are by themselves eloquent testimony to the importance of improving opportunities for this underprivileged half of the world's popultion. There was general recognition at the Conference that women are normally the worst disadvantaged of all the other target groups for non-formal education. And, of course, this recognition is borne out by statistical evidence; for example, in 1970, 60 per cent of the world's illiterates are said to have been women.

The majority of women in the developing countries of Asia and Africa are illiterate, with the exception of a few countries such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka where the female literacy rate is 85 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that a large proportion of girls in developing countries do not complete their primary and secondary education. At the tertiary level this is the situation in most developing and developed countries. Table 2 also offers evidence of sex disparities in enrolment in the formal education system.

Table 1: Percentage of Girls in Educational Institutions in 1975

Region	First Level	Second Level	Third Level
Developing countries in Asia and Oceania	41	33	30
Africa	41	34	26
Latin America	49	48	40

Source: UNESCO Office of Statistics, Paris

Table 2: Proportion of Students Enrolled in Educational Institutions in Developing Countries in Asia—1976

Age group	Male	Female	Total
6–11 years	72.4	51.4	62.2
11–17 years	38.0	22.9	30.7
17–23 years	10.1	7.3	7.3
6–23 years	44.4	29.1	36.8

Source: UNESCO Office of Statistics, Paris

Again, and taking India as an example, Table 3 shows that whereas there has been a gratifying improvement in the literacy rate for the adult population as a whole (from 19.26 per cent in 1951 to 34.08 per cent in 1971), the improvement for men has been much greater than for women.

Table 3: Literate Population in India, 1951 and 1971

	Total	Men	Women
1951	19.26%	29.40%	8.40%
1971	34.08%	47.69%	19.36%

Source: *Adult Education Programmes for Women*. Govt. of India

As the Conference report *Mobilizing Human Resources,* puts it:

> The role of women in development is undervalued, poorly developed and constrained by a variety of social and economic factors. The most important of these factors are economic insecurity, over-concentration on livelihood with little time and less interest in any form of education, and a general feeling of powerlessness against the economic and social structure which seems to be hostile or indifferent to women. Apart from poverty, time constraints, and lack of motivation, women are often constrained by certain dominant attitudes that prevail in their societies which regard them as inferior and suited only to home-making, child-care, and certain low-skilled, low-productive, low-status occupations calling for little intellectual aptitude and few high-proficiency skills. The part played by women in production and distribution is often ignored, particularly in rural areas. So are the managerial roles of women in élite groups. If, therefore, the individual and collective potential of women is to be fully realized, intimate and sensitive questions have to be examined openly and without cynicism, and explored with tolerance and sincerity. In addition, governments need to place more emphasis on non-formal education programmes for women.
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> Existing non-formal education programmes for women concentrate either on nutrition, child care and home economics, or on conventional vocational skills in such areas as tailoring, embroidery and traditional crafts. They make little or no call on modern technology and such expertise as managerial skills or accounting procedures. Even those limited programmes are often undertaken in the face of local hostility and suffer from limited resources and finance. Moreover, the views of educational planners on the needs of women are often conditioned by traditional attitudes.
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> Among women themselves there is widespread acceptance of discriminatory attitudes and the biases in existing programmes. Often this is a device that women use to rationalize their lack of options and make a virtue out of necessity. As a result they tend to opt out of non-formal programmes and remain poorly educated. This exacerbates their inferiority. Their powerlessness is intensified and their frustration increased.

The objectives of non-formal education for women are justice, dignity and the right—as well as the opportunity—to participate in development. Non-formal education programmes for women and girls must be designed around these objectives, challenging—where necessary—tradition, custom, existing educational provision and the constraints of home and family.

As an aid to understanding, it is helpful to focus on two groups of women—girls out of school, and women at work both at home and outside the home.

Girls out of School

This broad category includes (a) girls between the ages of six and 18 who never enter school; (b) girls who are unable to complete formal education; and (c) girls who complete one or more stages of formal education but cannot acquire further education.

Many factors limit girls' access to education. There are many places where provision for schooling does not exist. Parents may be reluctant to send their daughters to school if their sons remain unemployed after completing formal education. Boys in poorer families may rely on the women and girls for their upkeep whilst they are in school. The demands on girls may be such as to inhibit their performance in school and discourage them from continuing their education. The marriageability of girls may in some countries be impaired if it is known that they have been or are going to school. Early marriage and pregnancy may limit girls' access to education.

To increase the participation of girls in formal and non-formal education, the girls themselves must become self-aware and self-determined so as to recognize their potential role in society. Women need to be made aware of the valuable part that girls can play in society. Parents need to be motivated to accept new roles for girls at home and in the community. Development planners, teachers, employers and other male-dominated groups need to be motivated to act as local change agents, using their influence to develop community awareness of the potential of girls.

Non-formal education programmes to enable girls to enter formal school and to complete interrupted education should be encouraged. The Meadow Schools of Maharashtra in India offer girls the possibility of entry into Grade Four. In Lesotho, those girls whose schooling is interrupted by pregnancy are able to complete it through a non-formal education programme. In Bangladesh, mothers' clubs and women's co-operatives provide functional literacy opportunities for those who have some schooling but who are unable to maintain regular attendance. The Anganwadi (Courtyard) Programme for mothers and children in India makes similar provision. In Kenya and Jamaica, girls with some formal education are able to maintain their literacy and their academic and practical interests through the use of village library schemes. Other programmes are designed to improve the employment prospects of girls. In Kenya the national youth service offers a two- to three-year training course in a variety of trades. The Government assists in the eventual placement of girls in jobs. In some Commonwealth countries urban girls in employment meet for some learning sessions, although this kind of provision is very limited.

Frequently, girls who have some academic qualifications cannot successfully compete for employment with their male counterparts. This points to the need for programmes which increase the confidence of girls and prepare them better for successful job competition. Employers should be encouraged to adopt fairer recruitment practices which do not discriminate against girls.

Women at Work

Women at work at home and outside the home include those in low-income occupations, working women with irregular incomes, and those who have no monetary return for their work. In agrarian societies such women play a major role in agriculture and are often the main supporters of the family through subsistence farming or wage labour. In addition to cooking, caring for children and collecting water and fuel, women often play a prominent role in the traditional market economy as retailers and producers of handicrafts and food. Urban women are often employed in low-skilled and low-paid occupations which, combined with low access to further training, prevent both lateral and horizontal mobility in employment.

Societies the world over have consistently displayed a lack of understanding of the multiple roles of women—particularly the economic role. A prerequisite of any serious attempt at programme design is the need to ensure adequate motivation of society.

At the national level there is need for a sustained campaign with the help of the mass media to motivate measures to correct prevailing social attitudes that women should be confined to certain roles. Films and other documentary material depicting the hard labour, responsibility and self-reliance of women at work can help to correct discriminatory attitudes. In this context the Women's Audio-Visual Education (WAVE) package of the Women's Bureau of Jamaica is relevant. It is a public education project with emphasis on small workshops directed at special target groups, such as policy planners, rural women, students and youth groups, to highlight the problems women face, suggest solutions and stimulate discussion.*

The work undertaken by women at home is no less responsible than that undertaken by those in paid employment and should be given equal consideration when programmes of non-formal education are being planned and implemented. All too often, however, the burdens of home management and looking after a family are so great as to cause physical exhaustion and prevent the women concerned from participating in the programmes they need. Research on the simplification of household tasks is required in order to remove some of the constraints on women's participation in non-formal education.

Though women's work in the home is crucially important, those who undertake it are often inadequately prepared for the tasks involved. A knowledge of budgeting of time and money, of nutrition and economy in food preparation and consumption, and of health, sanitation and family planning, are all essential. Educational programmes are therefore needed to provide this information. At the same time they should seek to enable women to acquire

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The vocational training needs of women are considered on pages 65–67.

the necessary self-confidence of expression and action, and to generate in families the understanding that household responsibilities should be shared so that genuine partnership may be engendered. Given these circumstances, women will have the opportunities they need to share in cultural, educational and social development.

Non-formal education programmes for women in paid employment should aim at improving the economic position of women. The example of the National Women's Organization of Tanzania shows the possibility of organizing programmes on a national scale. It has played a vital part in organizing, mobilizing and educating women. By establishing economic-based projects it has assisted women to run their own restaurants, shops and other business activities in addition to child care. This type of commitment has helped in bringing together women for joint effort in raising their income and learning, as well as finding solutions to developmental problems. The effect is felt all over and the country since the organization has branches down to the village level as well as communication from that level to the highest decision-making authorities.

It is important to note that the planning and execution of women's programmes, whether governmental or non-governmental, have so far been mainly entrusted to middle-class urban élites which, despite good intentions, have little understanding of the constraints to which women in rural areas are subjected.

There is need for extensive investigation of problems, not merely as an academic exercise but to obtain data on which projects and programmes can be based. In order to ensure that these projects and programmes will be acceptable, the characteristics and needs of the target group should be taken into account in identifying the best time and the most effective way to begin the work. It is also necessary to convince women and their families that the educational experience will be of economic value.

In identifying vocational skills it may be possible to build on existing skills of women as long as such training can increase their efficiency, productivity and earning power. This is particularly the case in rural areas where training in new agricultural techniques, or animal husbandry, or processing agricultural products, can strengthen the productivity of women already engaged in agricultural operations. In providing such training, however, it is necessary to keep in mind the developmental plans of the area, both short-term and long-term, so that women can be trained to participate in any new activity likely to be developed through such plans. Such training should aim to ensure that women who are displaced by new technology can acquire alternative income-generating skills. Co-ordination and liaison with agencies which can provide developmental assistance in the way of essential inputs have to be established right from the beginning if the attempts for skill development are not to end in futility.

An important issue in programme strategy is to identify ways of organizing women for learning and production experiences. The most acceptable form of organization will depend on the local situation and the characteristics of the group. Co-operatives, asssociations, clubs, informal groups, labour unions and credit unions are all in a position to initiate action. Organizations such as these are essential even for self-employed women who otherwise find it

> virtually impossible to obtain access to the development inputs they need to pursue their occupations. It strengthens their participatory role in economic and community decision-making and thus contributes to their overall development. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of Gujerat, India, is an illustration of this.
>
> Trade unions have a special role to play in providing programmes for the improvement of skills, including literacy, and for making women aware of labour rights and laws. Women's membership in trade unions should therefore be encouraged.
>
> All in all, the strategy for successful implementation of non-formal education programmes for women calls for national commitment to the objectives of women's development, for professional training of programme designers, investigators, and field workers involved in the programmes, and for built-in provision for participation by the women at the grass-roots level. Women working at home need education aimed at enabling them to manage their households more satisfactorily. For those in paid employment, production skills must go hand in hand with some managerial skills (e.g. in finding markets for their own products, obtaining access to raw materials, and being able to learn simple accounting procedures) so that they do not have to depend in perpetuity on project authorities. Women have demonstrated their capacity for performing supervisory and managerial roles in traditional economies. It is necessary to develop these capacities so that they can adapt themselves to the process of economic modernization that is changing their lives throughout the Third World. It is therefore essential that programmes for women's education and development should be integrated into the general plan for development so that they do not continue to be on the periphery of the development process or marginal in recognition and importance. Unless this is done, the allocation of resources for such projects and programmes will always receive low priority.

Vocational Training Needs of Women

It will be clear from the extract quoted above that much is being done and that much remains to be done. Perhaps in view of current stereotypes about roles, the vocational training needs of women may well need more emphasis. As Swarna Jayaweera points out:[18]

> In Sri Lanka, a flexible channel of non-formal education exists in training programmes offered by state departments such as education, labour, agriculture, industry and rural development, national youth organizations and voluntary organizations. However, their vocational orientation has tended to be sex-based and innovations have been relatively few. Since the majority of women live in rural areas in conditions of mass poverty the following review of programmes will be limited to their impact on the rural sector.
>
> The extensive participation and low productivity of many women engaged in agricultural activities [are well known.] Nevertheless policy-makers have continued to give preference to men in agricultural education and extension programmes while women are seldom seriously considered for such programmes. Therefore they are unaware of modern techniques and

technological innovations and are not trained to use even small machines such as hulling and milking machines and small tractors. Sex stereotypes prevail in this area too, and it is not uncommon to see agricultural extension programmes organized for men and home economics programmes for women in the same locality. Similarly, women's programmes in agricultural communities tend to be oriented to handicraft and cottage crafts rather than to agriculture. Even where agricultural extension programmes are organized specifically for women they fail to play a dynamic role in revitalizing the rural economy.

The Farm Workers' Agricultural Extension Programme in Sri Lanka, which was introduced with FAO assistance in 1974 and is now part of the extension division of the Department of Agriculture, is an example of a recent effort to integrate rural women in development and improve the standard of living of farm families. The programme has a multiplier effect in that agricultural instructresses work with agricultural productivity centres and other agencies in selected colonization schemes and rural development areas to train local extension workers and village leaders. Its objective is the promotion of income-generating activities among rural women such as the cultivation of subsidiary crops, co-operative gardening, floriculture, animal husbandry and local crafts, and the dissemination of home management and family health programmes. Problems relating to marketing facilities, the quality of the local crafts produced, and the dearth of trained personnel have affected the income generation aspect of the programme leading to a high drop-out rate.

The Women's Development Centres of the Department of Rural Development in Sri Lanka were another innovation of the 1970s directed towards mobilizing rural women to improve the standards of living of rural families. Introduced originally with 147 mobile centres scattered through the island and imparting instruction largely in needlework, the programme was expanded in 1975 to convert those centres into permanent training-cum-production centres offering courses to village trainees in home gardening, food production and preparation, appropriate technology, crafts, needlework, nutrition and health. A recent evaluation of this programme has revealed that the objectives of the programme have not been achieved. The Centres suffered from a lack of capital resources and skilled personnel, facilities with regard to buildings and equipment were incredibly poor, the training programme was still largely limited to needlework instruction, and there had been little instruction in modern agricultural methods, food processing, economically viable crafts, or nutrition and health. Income generation was very low since the output had not reached competitive marketable standards, 90 per cent of past trainees were unemployed and 85 per cent of the self-employed had no income.

Another area in which non-formal education programmes have been operating is small-scale industry. In developing countries small rural industries or cottage industries have always had extensive female participation. In Sri Lanka, for instance, the proportion of women engaged in rural industries (33.8 per cent) was higher than that in urban industries (15.3 per cent) in 1971. A brief review of the training programmes of the Department of Small Industries in Sri Lanka may offer some evidence of efficacy of such non-formal education programmes.

The Department of Small Industries has a network of over 300 training centres in all districts in the island, a Vocational Training Centre in Colombo and a series of retail shops in large urban centres. Women constitute 72.8 per cent of these trainees, and while centres are not sex-differentiated there is a concentration of women in training programmes in traditional 'feminine' crafts such as hand-woven textiles, coir products and rush and palm ware. There is substantial enrolment in pottery and cane industries but a virtual exclusion of women from traditional 'male' industries, such as wood-based and metal-based crafts. A sample survey of ten centres revealed that:

(a) Trainees came from low-income families and the majority had dropped out of school.
(b) Attendance was irregular and the level of efficiency and productivity and quality of output very low.
(c) Monthly income from the sale of articles was very poor, ranging from 50 to 100 rupees.
(d) The training programme did not lead to paid employment as there was no certification based on assessment, and trainees were reluctant to venture into self-employment in view of the lack of credit and marketing facilities.

This information leads to the inescapable conclusion that these rural industries were 'poor relations' of the industrial sector and were both educationally sterile and economically unproductive.

Thus it seems clear that without continued and increasing discrimination *in favour of women*, the objectives of justice, dignity and the right to participation in development will not easily be attained.

APPENDIX

The JAMAL Programme in Jamaica (Joyce Robinson)

In 1974 the Government of Jamaica embarked on a new design for a programme of 'reclamation education' in which adult literacy constituted the first and basic layer of an integrated programme of continuing education for adults. Once functional literacy was achieved, provision was to be made for adults to continue their education and to be channelled into further training or employment opportunities provided by various agencies of government.

The former national literacy programme, started in 1972, was reorganized and restructured into a broader-based adult education programme making literacy the first phase of a co-ordinated programme for continuing education. The new programme, renamed the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy and called by the acronym JAMAL, is operated by a foundation with the main objectives to establish and operate a basic adult education programme primarily:

(a) To eradicate illiteracy in Jamaica within the shortest possible period.
(b) To improve the literacy skills of the adult population of Jamaica.

(c) To develop human resources and so enable each adult citizen to participate meaningfully in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

It was originally estimated that approximately 500,000 persons (i.e. 50 per cent of the adult population) were illiterate. So far, over 180,000 students have achieved functional literacy through the JAMAL programme, whilst another 114,000 students are currently registered in 7,500 JAMAL classes throughout the island. Ages vary from 15 to 65 years with the majority being between the ages of 15 to 35 years. Although the present number of new literates represents only 30 per cent of the original estimated 500,000 illiterates, it is sufficient to indicate that the programme's first phase of eradicating illiteracy is achieving some success and is a viable operation.

Problems Affecting the Education of New Literates

Phase One of the JAMAL programme enables the student to attain reading, writing and arithmetic to level four of the JAMAL curriculum, which is the reading level equivalent to that of grade six in the primary school system. It is therefore obvious that the average JAMAL student leaves Phase One of the programme while still a slow reader and he will need constant practice to make him proficient. Indeed, he still needs *another five years of constant reading practice to make him fluent, and to help him to change his old traditional oral habits of memorizing symbols and signs and acquire new attitudes which will make him fully integrated in a literate-oriented way of life.*

Under normal circumstances such a person should now be able to continue improving his reading skills through the use of other educational tools and agencies in the society (e.g. newspapers, magazines, public libraries, bookshops, community colleges, extension schools, vocation and trade centres). However, in developing countries such as Jamaica, the circumstances are not normal, and, in spite of the government's efforts to provide the other two tiers of continuing education through community youth centres and trade centres, progress has been slow. The availability of space for new literate adults within educational and training institutions has not kept pace so far with the graduation rate of the 180,000 new literates coming out of the JAMAL Phase One programme. There are still very few community colleges, skills training centres or education programmes for adults in rural areas. The new plans being implemented by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth and Community Development to provide these on a nation-wide scale will necessarily take some time, and meanwhile these new literates will have lost their current motivation.

Non-formal programmes for the continuing education of these students are being implemented but rapid progress is hampered by the following:

(a) There is insufficient ready access to books and reading materials which are written in simple English and are relevant to the interests of the majority of low level readers. Although there is a most valuable network of public libraries provided by the Jamaica Library Service, these have a limited amount of reading material at this specialized level for new literates.

(b) There is a scarcity of suitable books and simple reading material for adults available in local bookshops and from the commercial market overseas, and the high cost of books places them beyond the reach of those who most need them.

(c) Accustomed to a high rate of adult illiteracy for many years the society has geared its operations to survive on oral traditions which in turn has created an attitude of complacency towards illiteracy.

(d) There is still some stigma attached to a former illiterate adult and the society is not yet adjusted to integrate him fully while he is struggling and not completely confident of his potential as a literate citizen.

(e) Most new literates do not live or work in an environment conducive to literate-oriented habits, nor do they have relatives and friends capable and willing to encourage and assist them to continue their education.

In addition, JAMAL students who graduated from Phase One at JAMAL's level four found themselves in an awkward gap where they were not able to continue their education *immediately* in vocational and skills-training programmes as these required a minimum entry of grade nine. Since the formal provision to take such adult students from grade six to grade nine had not yet materialized, many were frustrated in their efforts to help themselves.

JAMAL therefore has had to accelerate the implementation of its Phase Two programme to help new literates from Phase One to continue from education to levels five and six within the JAMAL classes wherever the voluntary teaching facilities could be provided.

Projects and Programmes for Continuing Education

The main channels being used to provide continuing education for new literates in Jamaica include:

(a) The establishment of official links of co-operation between the Public Library Service and JAMAL to facilitate maximum use of libraries resources by students.

(b) The establishments of a Guidance Unit operation for students as an integral part of the JAMAL programme.

(c) The vigorous stimulation of local writing and publishing for new literates through innovations such as JAMAL, UNESCO/UNDP 'Fulfil Project' and 'New Readers' page in a commercial newspaper.

(d) The launching of a five-year development plan which includes developing Phase Two of the JAMAL programme to take students from level four to level six (i.e. to grade nine which is the minimum recruitment level for entry to vocational and trade training institutions).

(e) The expansion of radio and television instructional and motivational programmes to change attitudes and upgrade all sectors of the society to think, practise and acquire new habits to foster continuing education as a way of life.

(f) The establishment of closer working links with the Ministry of Education which is now establishing additional community colleges and vocational training programmes with facilities for new literates; also the establishment of closer working relations with other government agencies and private institutions to encourage them to expand their facilities to include new literates in their training programmes.

(g) The stimulation of greater public awareness of the potential of new literates in order to gain the sympathetic understanding of the society and particularly of the business and industrial communities to assist with 'in house' adult education programmes to upgrade their staff. Programmes such as a televised National Literacy Quiz have been operated for the past four years to create a more responsive environment and build up confidence in students as they seek opportunities for self-improvement.

Space does not permit a detailed examination of all the projects but three are considered in more detail.

1. Establishment of Links with the Public Library Service

The Library's role in continuing education remains dominant since it represents the most economical and constant supply of free reading material essential to establish fluency and improve competence. Jamaica is extremely fortunate to have a very good public library system organized with a network of 450 parish libraries, branch libraries, book centres and bookmobile stops. However, the availability of a wide range of books on various subjects relevant to the simple reading needs of housewives, farmers, industrial workers, labourers, fishermen, etc. still remains elusive. The problem lies not only with the unavailability of relevant titles on the commercial market, but also with the high cost of importing books into the country and the extremely limited annual book fund received by the Library Service. In spite of these problems, the Jamaica Library Service is the only institution in Jamaica now even partially equipped to handle on a large scale the herculean task of non-formal continuing education for so many new literates at a national level.

JAMAL and Jamaica Library Service have embarked on a programme of close co-operation. Senior staff of both organizations serve on each other's national and local community committees responsible for promoting their programmes and this helps to establish a better understanding of the psychological problems and needs of new literates and to co-ordinate development plans. Special assistance given by the Jamaica Library Service includes:

(a) Bookmobiles attend on spot at JAMAL graduation ceremonies to register the graduates as new library readers and to introduce them to the services of the library.

(b) Large print books are provided in the bookstock for new literates and special collections with easy reading material are being built up.

(c) Book exhibitions are prepared by the library and displayed at JAMAL functions, booklists for new literates are distributed and educational tours for groups of students to visit libraries are arranged.

(d) Library buildings are used for teacher training, advanced classes and other JAMAL activities. JAMAL staff and voluntary teachers consult regularly with librarians to plan strategies for retaining the reading interest of new readers and encourage continuing education.

It is important to note that the library has had to adjust its programme to accommodate not only the current 180,000 new literates but also the thousands of other slow readers who over the years have dropped out or passed out of the school system at a low academic level. More recently, some of the larger libraries have started operating special advisory services through a new project called The JAMAL Graduate Library Appreciation Programme. This involves the systematic enrolment of new literates in the libraries, and the provision of a follow-up advice service and motivational activities to ensure their progress and to obtain valuable statistical data on the reading needs of new literates in particular areas. This programme should provide an excellent opportunity to analyse changes in adult learner behaviour. At present the Jamaica Library Service is negotiating for additional finances to expand its programme: (a) by providing more books for new adult readers and a greater allocation to rural communities; (b) by providing audio-visual equipment and non-book materials in branch libraries to link with the ten radio and nine television JAMAL programmes now broadcast weekly; and (c) by producing radio and television library programmes to stimulate continuing education among adults and promote the greater use of books.

2. Guidance Unit for New Literates

The JAMAL Guidance Unit was initiated in 1975 to assist JAMAL graduates in furthering their development and building on their new skills of reading and writing to become self reliant and more productive in their communities. The unit is responsible for advising level four students of suitable career opportunities and of the qualifications and training required for such careers; for liaising with skills-training agencies, educational institutions, the Ministry of Labour and other human resource development bodies in order to develop a resource pool into which graduates may be channelled, and to encourage graduates to avail themselves of opportunities for further training, education and employment.

A guidance officer and a small support staff operate from each of the four regions into which the island is divided. This regional structure allows JAMAL's unit to integrate with the structures used by many other development programmes and facilitates integrated planning with other community-based programmes in areas such as education (vocation and skills training); health (family planning, nutrition, child care); agriculture (co-operative farming, pioneer farms, credit union, land lease); youth and community development (community councils, youth centres, pioneer farm projects); etc.

The Guidance Unit has made outstanding contributions in stimulating the continuing education of new literates by building up valuable information including:

(a) Annotated lists of interviewed students (level four), reflecting age, sex, classwork achievement levels, skills (if any), employment experience, addresses.

(b) Annotated lists of institutions, agencies and industries offering opportunities (within the learning competence of students) which would enable them to continue their education in academic or technical subjects and acquire a skill.

(c) Data on students placed in training programmes and follow-up reports on outstanding graduates.

(d) Data on scholarships obtained for students from organizations, service clubs and individuals, with follow-up reports to donors when possible.

Guidance officers have helped to change hardened attitudes and secure work apprenticeship opportunities as well as scholarships and financial assistance for many ambitious needy students to attend community colleges; trade training centres; Chinese cooking classes; sewing courses; catering courses; community nursing aides courses; child care courses, etc.

In special cases JAMAL's Guidance Unit has helped to co-sponsor training courses for new literates. An outstanding example is 'The United Women Woodwork and Welding Industry' which resulted from the Women's Bureau and JAMAL collaborating in a training course in non-traditional skills for women. The Guidance Unit assists students who wish to start co-operatives and self-help projects. So far these have included catering, dressmaking, shoemaking and craft. Such students are given a short course in business management and marketing (using guest lecturers) and are introduced to the co-operative and other finance agencies like the Small Business Loan Board.

3. *Stimulation of Local Writing and Publishing for New Literates*

JAMAL and other organizations such as the Jamaica Library Service have been sponsoring lectures, training courses, seminars, and workshops in book production and writing for new literates in an effort to try to persuade publishers that it is economically viable to publish more books at this level and to encourage established local authors to write for this level of reader. In addition, projects have been initiated to discover talent and encourage new authors. In 1975 a project called 'FULFIL' the acronym for 'Follow Up Literature for Individual Learners' was launched under the chairmanship of Mr Daniel Martin, the UNESCO/UNDP project manager then attached to JAMAL. The aim was to foster the development of works of a popular nature such as short stories, novels, plays, and comic strips based on themes on West Indian folk life, biography, travel and adventure, and stories of religious inspiration. The accent was on reading for pleasure so as to inculcate the reading habit to improve the quality of life of new literates. The FULFIL project launched a Popular Literature Competition open to the general public with prize money substituting for authors' fees. Of the 53 entries received, 30 were identified as worthy of publishing, and so far four have been published.

JAMAL trains writers 'in house', and the materials production department publishes supplementary reading books on various topical subjects, and a monthly newspaper called 'Lets Read'. In addition to simplifying information material for various government departments, the department summarizes and simplifies each week (for the past two years) one page of current news called 'New Readers' Page for the *Daily Gleaner* which is Jamaica's largest newspaper with a daily circulation of 54,000.

Launching a Five Year Development Plan including JAMAL Phase Two

The Jamaican Government has approved a Five Year Development Plan (1978–1983) for the acceleration of the JAMAL programme to achieve its major objectives by 1983. It was appreciated that provision for the continuing education of the current 180,000 Phase One JAMAL graduates could not await the establishment of all the formal institutions needed within the ideal comprehensive education system now being implemented by the Ministry of Education and consequently the JAMAL Phase Two programme has been accelerated to fill the immediate gap.

The design of the Phase Two programme is similar to that of Phase One. Wherever convenient and possible, all classes will expand upwards to help students to attain level four standard to continue their education to level five and six, which is equivalent of the primary school's grades seven and nine. The current 7,500 Phase One classes are structured for students of varying ages and occupational interests with some full-time centres for the unemployed and shift workers. There are eight types of classes grouped as follows: part-time evening classes; part-time day classes; full-time adult education centres; part-time adult education centres; in-house private sector classes; in-house government agency classes; organization classes by church groups; friendly societies, youth groups, neighbourhood classes and, most recently, classes for inmates in correctional institutions.

Some adult education centres already have facilities of both space and teachers and have been used for pilot projects for Phase Two. Students completing Phase Two have obtained employment as security guards, traffic wardens, assistant prison warders, aides in basic schools, trainee mechanics in garages, and in garment factories and other industries. Other have gained acceptance for further training in the Police Special Constabulary Force, commercial schools, the School of Art, the Hotel Training School, etc.

The Phase Two curriculum covers English language—oral and written (grammar and syntax); mathematics (application to business, trade skills and budgeting); social studies (civics, geography and history of Jamaica in a world context); health science (nutrition, family planning, child care); reading and writing to attain fluency beyond any possibilities of regression. Classroom and supplementary reading materials prepared and printed in the JAMAL in-house printery are distributed free of cost to students. In addition, media programmes for levels five and six on radio and television are now in advanced stages of preparation and will be broadcast as supplementary to the current ten weekly Phase One programmes in operation since 1974.

The literacy programme does not operate continuing education programmes in skills training, since these are already the responsibilities of other government agencies working in local communities. Nevertheless many JAMAL classes are either in the same buildings or in close proximity to such centres, and by special arrangements some JAMAL students learn a skill whilst continuing to upgrade their academic competence. In some instances the teaching of craft has been formally introduced into JAMAL classes by using instructors from other agencies. Students very often also teach each other skills they have acquired. Regular combined exhibitions of classwork, craft work and home economics products are organized, and friendly competitions between classes have been used to encourage production. JAMAL established valuable links with the National Institute of Craft for organizing the sale of students' craft work and for encouraging self-reliance and production at marketable standards.

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CHAPTER 3

The Nuts and Bolts of Programming

Non-formal education is a complex concept, and in this it is like development. It is complex in that its learning context has to be improvised for each group of clients. It is complex in the multiplicity of techniques it uses, of which the teacher with the book is only one—and increasingly a marginal one. It is complex in that its end products should be measured not by pieces of paper called certificates, degrees and diplomas, but by such criteria as income generation for the millions who live below the poverty line, employment creation for the millions of unemployed, and the provision of protective food for the millions of children who are under-nourished.

Malcolm Adiseshiah, Opening Address

Concepts

The growth of the non-formal idea can only be understood in relation to education viewed as lifelong learning.[1] Unfortunately, many educators are not only the products of formal schools but still tend to think of education as bound by time or place or as always occurring in educational institutions. As a result, educational improvement is often seen solely in terms of *schools*, for example, in extending the length of courses or in improving age participation rates. For most of us, education is still something which terminates at a given age (or may never begin); anything else we have thought of as 'information' or 'training'. Even when the non-formal idea is accepted in part, it may in the minds of educators either be confined to specific work-related training schemes or to low-cost (and by implication inferior) alternatives to the real education which only schools can provide. If 'non-formal' is seen as synonymous with 'remedial', then we shall perpetuate the injustices and inequalities which many non-formal programmes seek to remove.

Two basic concepts are necessary. First that the most important result of education is that it should lead to *learning*, and second that this learning can and should occur throughout life. Planned programmes of adult education (mainly non-formal) are a necessary complement to planned programmes of child education.

Learning, as Malcolm Adiseshiah expressed it,[2] is 'the conceptual bedrock on which non-formal education rests. In the non-formal education programmes for all but very young children, it is the learning techniques—the capacity to learn how to learn—on which success or failure is judged. The teacher in non-formal education disappears and is replaced by the facilitator, the animator, the worker. Non-formal education thus replaces the vertical hierarchical arrangements which education has come to represent by a horizontal structure in which all are learning from each other.'

If we take this broader view of education then its content is at once much wider than conventional academic skills and subject matter. It includes all those things commonly called 'training' (e.g. occupational or household skills) as well as 'the development of aesthetic appreciation and analytical modes of thinking, the formation of attitudes, values and aspirations; the assimilation of pertinent knowledge and information of many sorts. These different kinds of learning, to be sure, vary greatly in their depth and complexity; in the time, effort and maturity required to attain them; in their degree of generality, specificity and transferability to new situations; in their inherent value and durability. Yet all of them, if relevant to the circumstances, can enhance human capabilities and the behaviour of both individuals and communities'.[3]

A learner-centred view of non-formal education emphasizes its two most important advantages, namely, relevance and flexibility: a content relevant to the needs of the priority target groups and methods flexible enough to ensure that learning opportunities are maximized. As Catherine McLevy points out[4] in relation to school-age children:

> Learning needs to be considered when reflecting on non-formal education programmes, but more to restore its true meaning than to discover new definitions. Real learning has always been the work of the learner himself, assimilating knowledge, practising skills, and developing convictions in regard to values through his own powers of absorption, exercise and reflection. In the days of Socrates, when most aspects of available knowledge could be found through the use of the senses followed by mental organization of the evidence thus accumulated, the teacher promoted discussion while he acted as a whetstone to sharpen the faculties of observation assumed to be possessed by the learner. Now however, a great deal of knowledge is not perceptible either by accurate observation or even logic, and so instructional equipment of modern schools and colleges has been developed, and the concept of the teacher's role, and with it the learner's, has changed.
>
> This latter change has been largely a mistake, since even today learning can only take place in the mind of the learner. The need therefore remains to stimulate rather than inform. Moreover, since it is impossible to know everything, the one essential goal is to learn how to learn, so that after leaving

the centre of education the person is equipped to go on learning whatever he may need to know or understand in later life.

Non-formal education calls for extensive improvisation in learning materials, since this itself stimulates the inventiveness of the children. The Socratic dialogue has a place in the learning process too, though it should not be the exclusive method any more than the lecture method ought to be used exclusively in the formal system. Personal or group observation or investigation of both natural and social phenomena, supported by the search for further evidence about them in books and other printed material, and evaluation of all the evidence after organizing it systematically, will enable the children to learn some of the facts of the world around them, and also to learn how to learn. It will also lead them to see the relationships between different aspects of knowledge instead of compartmentalizing them to the detriment of true understanding, which is what frequently happens in modern schools.

In some respects, children outside formal school are disadvantaged compared with those in school. The chief problem is that for some time they are likely to have much less fluency in reading, writing and numeracy skills. Until these are acquired the children are cut off from many sources of knowledge. But they generally have a great deal of curiosity, which is the first requisite for learning; they have sharpened their powers of observation in the freedom of the fields or the streets, and they have learned by practice to apply their mother-wit to the solution of any difficulties they may encounter. If these attributes can be canalized by a resourceful teacher, learning becomes a part of the game of life to the small child outside formal school. Since they are still children, it is also probable that the skills of reading and writing will be fairly rapidly acquired, especially if the matter to be read is made interesting and the necessary drills for consolidation of the skils are made amusing or purposeful or both. It has been observed that while children of six require four or five years of practice to attain permanent literacy, two years are enough for the child of nine. Some experts believe that it is not so much the duration of the period of learning as the stage of development at which the skills are practised that is important. In other words, they hold that if a child is still using literacy skills at the age of eleven he will retain them, while if he ceases to use them before that age he will ultimately lose them. If this is the case, the child outside school has most of the advantages for learning on his side, provided that his teachers continually develop the learning process around relevant topics and the interests of the children they are dealing with.

The concept of need is an elusive one. It has long been accepted by community developers that 'felt needs' should be met, but who determines what those needs are? And by what processes? It would be possible for the non-formal educators to *prescribe* programmes and the content of programmes based on their own—or even 'generally accepted'—ascriptive norms about what constitutes 'disadvantage' or 'deprivation'. Thus, it could be said that 'everyone needs literacy' or 'everyone needs two weeks' annual holiday with pay'. And we might then go on to prescribe learning opportunities based on those ascriptive norms. These opportunities might or might not be relevant, and they might or might not meet the needs of the groups for whom they were intended as defined by those groups. What is absolutely certain is that they would not begin from that widely accepted axiom in the whole of education about starting from where the learners are. For that, needs can only emerge through a dialogue between teachers/programme planners and learners. Needs are not the same as wants; but they can only be derived in close consultation with the intended participants. Non-formal education is, after all, a largely voluntary and part-time activity.

This attitude is now becoming accepted at the policy level in a number of countries. In India, for example, the 1978 National Adult Education Programme was launched:

> to enable the masses to play an active role in social and cultural change. Literacy ought to be recognized as an integral part of an individual's personality. The present thinking on adult education is based on the assumptions: (a) that illiteracy is a serious impediment to an individual's growth and to country's socio-economic progress; (b) that education is not coterminus with schooling but takes place in most work and the life situations; (c) that learning, working and living are inseparable and each acquires a meaning only when correlated with others; (d) that the means by which people are involved in the process of development are at least as important as the ends; and (e) that the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy, dialogue and action.[5]

Curriculum Planning for School-Age Children

Even at the level of school-age children, Catherine McLevy points out that content should be considered in relation to *the aims which the group defines*, and in relation to the actual situation of the children for whom it is designed. 'If the objectives of non-formal education includes preparation for a more democratic and egalitarian society, it is necessary to develop the content with this in mind.[6]

This view was accepted by the Delhi Conference. It was suggested that procedures for determining curriculum content might be adopted as follows:

(a) The village community should be asked to indicate its needs and aspirations.

(b) The stated needs and aspirations should be discussed with members of the community and further information collected (e.g. numbers to be involved and times at which participants will be available).

(c) Curriculum workers or others having the needed skills should be drafted in to develop a curriculum as far as possible with the involvement of members of the communities. This curriculum should be developed within the national framework..

(d) Generally, the curriculum should emerge and develop as a result of a dialogue with the community.

The content of the curriculum should, of course, be built around the facts of childhood, some of which are the facts of physical, mental and emotional maturity; the need for guided growth in these areas; the need to play and to learn through play; the need for security; the need for a recognized place in the family and the local society; the need for acceptance and peer approval; the child's curiosity as a stimulus for learning; the natural sense of wonder as a stimulus for reflection; the need to achieve when achievement is seen as a measure of one's own efforts and ability and also to use this achievement to help one's own people; the need for self-fulfilment; the need to learn to learn; conflict within the child between the need for authority (as a part of security) and the growing desire for freedom.

Catherine McLevy argues that:

> In each area where non-formal education programmes are taken up, the content of the programme will also have to take into account the social structures of the human groups in the area, and... the material environment, including the 'natural' environment... For example, in a village well-known to the writer, what was within living memory a dense forest is still apparently wilderness, but it is now mere scrubland. This, of course, has had serious effects on the agriculture of the area. Enquiry among the older villagers about the former appearance and uses of the forest, and about the former condition of the agricultural activities, especially in regard to soil and water management, would teach the children something of the inter-relationship of natural growth and natural forces, and their effects on the life of man. In looking forward to the future, as well as in looking backward on this brief natural cycle, a sense of wonder, both at the power of nature and at the skill of man to act upon it, would naturally arise. A further effect will be that, when they are older, or even now through the impact their tales of 'school' may have in the community, the policies of a very important government department may be influenced for the better by practical wisdom of the people themselves.
>
> The work-skills exercised in the community, and those in which the people show interest, or for which the children show aptitude, should also be considered. This education should not be merely functional, as if the children of the poor had only functions and not personalities. It should take into account the development and exercise of skills, especially skills which are valued by the child himself and by others. This gives great satisfaction to a child, and has beneficial effects both on body and mind, as well as serving to promote a more balanced view of the world of work and of possible vocational choices. False vocational values and expectations are among the most damaging consequences of the culture imparted in the formal schools.
>
> The expectations which the local society has... and the values implicit in the local culture must be understood, since the child's need for security will largely be satisfied if he finds himself accepted by his peers and his elders.

Thus he needs to be helped to attain the skills expected of him and to appreciate the underlying values of local society.

However, this alone is not enough. He needs to learn to reflect critically on the things he is expected to do, and on the values of the society in which he lives, so he can form his own set of values to live by as he matures. To some degree his values will be unconsciously formed through childhood. For example, in an environment like that of the average Indian village, if we do not encourage different values in the non-formal education centre, the child, whatever his origin, will develop unconsciously the social prejudices of the village by the age of six or seven: the caste child will learn to despise the harijan, while the harijan will learn that he is despicable. Similar social prejudices are found in every society, and are learnt at an early age. It is certain, however, that they are learned, and not inborn, and so no educator should allow them to develop.

Finally, the wider environment of the children needs also to be borne in mind—the region, the nation, the world at large. It is necessary for every citizen today to have a broad understanding of the socio-economic and political issues affecting his country and the world, but it is equally important for him to understand the part played by science and technology in those issues. The assumption that more and more science and technology will solve all the problems of the world, and especially of the developing nations, is today seriously questioned. But without some broad understanding of the impact of science and technology on human society, the ordinary people whose lives are the most affected will have no say in the ultimate decisions on these issues. A study of the whole world of work, industrial and agricultural, and also a study of the deeper meaning of work and its impact on the environment and the character of the worker, need to find a place in the curriculum of the older children, along with the practice of work-skills.

If the non-formal education centre is to be a place of truly relevant learning, the community will need to be consulted about the content of the programme. The organizers will need to define their own broad objectives, and the main content areas that would fulfil these. They will need also to enter into close relationships with the people and to study the features of the village environment by observing, inquiring and engaging in dialogue with the adult members of the community. Much will depend on the kind of relationship established with the people in determining the degree to which they can contribute to the development of the syallbus-content for their children's education. But in principle, if this is to be a truly democratic education, it should also be a community-centred education, with the people deeply and continually concerned about it. Their concern will be the greater, and their dignity enhanced, if they find that they have views on education, and that these views are respected.*

Participation in Programme Planning

There is an assumption in most of the literature that non-formal education must involve potential participants in the determination of their own programmes. And such participatory planning is contrasted with 'top down' approaches which may be devised to meet what government or non-formal educators themselves may perceive as the needs to be met. However, such a contract may be more apparent than real; even large-scale programmes need popular support. For example, a very large programme in Botswana, which was highly structured and organized at national level, was itself intended to be a 'consultation' with the people. As reported by the Botswana Government:[7]

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*A model curriculum for the 6–14 age group using the principles outlined above appears as an appendix to this chapter.

> A major non-formal educational campaign has been the public consultation on the Botswana Government's policy proposals for tribal grazing land. This campaign was carried out in 1976. Its aim was to consult the people of Botswana on a major land reform policy which the government was proposing to implement. So important were the issues involved that the government mandated a nation-wide campaign to explain the issues and gather feedback from the people. The feedback from the consultation would form the basis of the government's implementation decisions.
>
> The method of consultation employed was the use of Radio Learning Groups (RLGs). By using these RLGs a far greater coverage was possible than by using normal extension methods, and it was possible to organize a structured system for gathering feedback from the people. A total of 3,500 RLGs were formed and an estimated 55,000 people were reached by a series of ten radio programmes. This meant that one adult in six was reached by the campaign. The campaign was a good example of inter-ministerial co-operation. A 'Grazing Committee' was formed to run the campaign. It was chaired by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and included representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Finance and Development Planning, and the University of Botswana. Its committee was responsible for the preparation of materials and the organization and running of the campaign at central level. At district level, district extension teams, and, at village level, village extension teams, were formed to recruit, train, supervise and encourage the RLGs. These teams consisted of extension staff in the field, including community developers, agricultural demonstrators, head teachers and family welfare educators.

Significantly, the report concludes that the experience of the campaign has led to increased consultation with the people at district level and that this 'is becoming the basis for planning in Botswana'.

A good example of a combination of central planning and popular participation is provided by Yusuf Kassam's Conference Paper on Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania.

> The idea of establishing Folk Development Colleges was first conveyed by a government delegation that visited Sweden in 1971 with the purpose of studying the Swedish educational system. At the beginning of 1974, a committee was appointed to survey the possibilities of establishing adult education institutions along the pattern of the Swedish Folk High Schools but adapted to local needs and conditions. Later in the same year, the Ministry of National Education requested Swedish consultants to assist the committee and

the Ministry in its task. As a result of the recommendations made by the committee, the Government decided to establish what has come to be known as Folk Development Colleges (FDCS), one college in each of the 85 districts, over the next several years.

The Folk Development Colleges programme constitutes the most recent and significant addition to the substantial and impressive development of non-formal education in general and adult education in particular over the last eight years or so.[8] The following features give an overview of this remarkable development:

(a) On the organisational and structural front, adult education has become the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education.

(b) Every primary school has been made to operate as an adult education centre.

(c) An elaborate committee structure from the national level right down to the ward level has been established dealing with the planning and coordination of adult education programmes.

(d) Adult education officers have been appointed at all administrative levels.

(e) Training in adult education has been introduced at the diploma and degree levels.

(f) For all primary school teacher trainees, compulsory training in adult education has been introduced in all Colleges of National Education (teacher training colleges). The major programmes initiated include the large variety of adult education programmes offered at the adult education centres, the National Literacy Campaign, mass radio study group campaigns on a number of different subjects, education by correspondence, compulsory workers' education, Community Education Centres, and rural libraries.

The FDC programme can be looked upon as a logical sequel to the gigantic National Literacy Campaign which by 1975 had enrolled a total of about 5.2 million people. While rural libraries continued to be established in increasing numbers, the FDC programme was conceived as yet another move in the strategy of meeting the needs and challenges of post-literacy continuing education in the rural areas.*

In order to train the tutors for the FDCs, an FDC Training Centre was established at Kibaha, and the first five-month training course for principals was conducted in 1975. By the beginning of 1976, 34 FDCs were opened, and the number rose to 47 by the end of 1977. Among the existing educational institutions that were transformed into FDCs, the majority were formerly Rural Training Centres, while others were middle schools, mission schools, etc.

In initiating the FDC programme, the task of taking over the former Rural Training Centres from the decentralized Regional Administration under the Prime Minister's Office and transforming them into FDCs inevitably involved a number of complex problems and difficulties. Because of the newness of the FDC programme and the lack of adequate funds with regional authorities, the

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*By 1977, a total of 2,339 rural libraries had been established.

FDCs were placed under the direct leadership and financial control of the Ministry of National Education in July 1976.

The FDCs are required to provide many different educational programmes as part of post-literacy continuing education based on the real and practical needs of rural development at the local level. Within this framework, the broad objectives of the FDCs are:

(a) To help the citizen in developing his whole personality and to enable him to think intelligently and participate in the social life of his community and its development.

(b) To help adults to understand the country's policy of socialism and self-reliance and to encourage them to participate more fully in political life.

(c) To improve the knowledge and skills of adults in such fields as agriculture, handicrafts, domestic science, health and water supply.

(d) To develop democratic and co-operative skills and knowledge among adults.

(e) To help adults develop leadership skills and attitudes.

(f) To increase knowledge of Tanzanian and African culture and promote active involvement in cultural activities.

(g) To help adults acquire a wider horizon of the world and increase their ability to participate in international activities.

The FDCs are expected to incorporate some characteristics of the operational methods of the Swedish Folk High Schools including a high degree of flexibility in programming courses, the use of non-authoritarian and liberating methods in the teaching-learning process, the absence of formal grading and paper credentials, the focus on the development of the personality, and the spirit of and responsibility for co-operation among the participants.

The target group consists predominantly of new literates who have attained literacy skills at Stages 3 and 4 through the National Literacy Campaign.* A small proportion of primary seven leavers also enrolled.

At the present stage, there is some variation in the way that learning needs are identified by the FDCs. In many cases the needs are first determined by the college tutors who visit the villages in the wards and talk with the village leaders. After the needs have been identified, they are presented to the Board of Governors of the college for discussion, modification and final approval. This Board consists of the District Party Secretary as Chairman, and the FDC Principal as Secretary. Other members of the Board are the District Development Director and the District Functional Managers. In some cases, the needs are determined by just the district authorities or the Governing Board alone. The participants from the villages are mostly selected by the Village Councils in co-operation with the Ward Party Secretary and the Ward Adult Education Co-ordinator.

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*According to the performance criteria used in the National Literacy Examination of August 1975, those persons who passed at Stages 3 and 4 were considered to be literacy graduates. A total of 1,403,985 or 37 per cent of all those who sat for the examination performed at levels 3 and 4, and of these, 574,876 persons (15 per cent) who performed at level 4 were considered to be functionally literate. An additional 806,422 people passed at levels 3 and 4 in the recent examination of August 1977. (For the 1975 results, see Mbakile, 1976).

The wide range of courses offered covers long courses of three months to two years and short courses of two days up to ten weeks. The long courses are offered in agriculture, including livestock keeping, domestic science (for women), and technical subjects such as carpentry, masonry, pottery, etc. A course which focuses on any one of these areas is also packaged with smaller doses of the other areas. It is also supplemented by such other general courses like book-keeping and management, economics (rural development), culture, and political education. The short courses are offered in a wide assortment of programmes such as village leadership, poultry-keeping, rural libraries, village shop-keeping, day-care centres, etc. The FDC facilities are also used by other government departments and institutions for running their own short courses either for their own employees or for the villagers.

Table 4 illustrates from a random sample of three FDCs the type of courses offered.

In all the vocational courses organized by the FDCs, it is recommended that 60 per cent of all the training sessions should be devoted to practical work and the remaining 40 per cent to theory. In every college, the practical work and demonstration is carried out through a variety of self-reliant productive projects in agriculture, livestock-keeping, sewing, weaving, cookery, carpentry, shop-keeping and others. In addition to providing opportunities for practical training, these projects also aim to meet part of the running costs of the colleges and to serve as examples for emulation in the villages. Among the FDCs mentioned above Bigwa has a 26-acre maize farm, a 6-acre banana plantation, a 3-acre orange plantation, a 2-acre vegetable garden, cattle and pig-keeping, a shop, a cookery project, and a sewing project for making shirts, trousers, blouses and skirts. These projects yielded a net income of Tanzania Shs. 28,000 (or US$3,500), and an additional income of about Shs. 17,000 is expected from the maize farm. The FDC at Same has a poultry, a vegetable garden, a 4-acre millet farm, a 4-acre maize farm, a 1½-acre groundnut farm and 181 goats, which yielded a net income of Shs. 49,000 (or US$6,125) in 1977. Malya has a shop and canteen, a vegetable garden, poultry, a 1½-hectare maize farm, a 3-hectare cotton farm, a 6-hectare millet farm, half a hectare of beans and a small bread bakery.

The number of participants that each college can enrol varies between 40 and 160 depending upon the accommodation facilities of each college and the type of courses offered.

In view of the newness of the FDC programme, there was in the initial period a lack of adequate understanding of the aims and objectives of the FDCs on the part of the community. The district authorities from whom the former Rural Training Centres were 'snatched' were not enthusiastically supportive of the new programme. However, with the passage of time, as the FDCs are consolidating their foothold and are offering an increasing number of useful and relevant courses, indifference and apathy are now gradually giving way to more favourable attitudes and co-operation. In a number of districts where the villagers and the village councils have been made to participate actively in the determination of needs and also, more importantly, in the selection of the members of their villages for the courses, some evidence suggests that the villagers have now begun to recognize the FDC as their own

Table 4: Courses Offered at three FDCs between January 1977 and March 1978

1. Bigwa (Morogoro)

Course	Length	Participants			Sponsor
		M	F	total	
Agriculture and book-keeping for shop management	4 months	25	14	39	FDC
Agriculture, book-keeping, sewing, cookery, day care centres	3 months	24	51	75	FDC
Book-keeping, agriculture, livestock keeping, domestic science, political education, economics	3 months	20	20	40	FDC
Accountancy and management, agriculture, domestic science	9 months (up to June 78)	29	21	50	FDC
Co-operatives	2 weeks	26	—	26	Coop. College
Seminars for managers of co-operative shops	2 weeks	22	10	32	Coop. College
Seminar for officials of credit and saving societies	2 weeks	32	8	40	Ujamaa and Coop.
Maintenance of tractors for drivers	6 days	18	—	18	Cotton Authority

2. Same (Kilimanjaro)

Course	Length	Participants			Sponsor
		M	F	total	
Book-keeping, agriculture, technical, domestic science	6 months			36	FDC
Day care centres	3 months			26	Labour and Social Welfare
Book-keeping, agriculture and domestic science	3 months			39	FDC
Book-keeping, agriculture and domestic science	6 months			44	FDC
Leadership	5 days			17	Ujamaa and Coop.
Cultural Exhibition	5 days			70	National Culture and Youth
Technical	?			14	FDC

3. Malya (Mwanza)

Course	Length	Participants			Sponsor
		M	F	total	
Technical, agriculture, book-keeping, domestic science, political education, economics	3 months	35	25	60	FDC
Technical and continuing literacy	1 month	14	6	20	FDC
Agriculture and continuing literacy	3 weeks	11	4	15	FDC
Literacy teaching, political education and Kiswahili	2 weeks	27	4	31	FDC
Book-keeping and political education	2 weeks	26	2	28	Ujamaa and Coop.
Book-keeping and political education	2 weeks	47	2	49	Ujamaa and Coop.
Technical, agriculture, book-keeping and political education	?	12	—	12	FDC
Course for permanent training teams for literacy	2 weeks	25	8	33	District Ed. Office
Course on T.B. and leprosy for rural medical personnel	1 week	19	8	27	Ministry of Health
Course on T.B. and leprosy for rural medical personnel	1 week	25	11	36	Ministry of Health
Course for shop managers	3 weeks	47	18	65	Ujamaa and Coop.

Source: Annual Reports from FDCs, presented at a Seminar for Principals for FDCs, Kibaha, May 1978

institution that can be made to serve their own needs and those of the village development.

Methods and Media

As has been pointed out, the two most important advantages of non-formal education are relevance and flexibility. Relevance is clearly related to content while flexibility depends on the right selection of methods and media.

As the Conference Report notes:

> The selection of media for non-formal education depends on the purpose and scale of the educational programme, the media available, and the economic,

social and cultural setting. As a general rule, programmes with modest aims and objectives which involve relatively few people will utilize fewer and more basic media. In such cases the media are likely to be used to complement teaching techniques, and for demonstrations. Large-scale programmes such as mass education campaigns (in health and agriculture, for instance) frequently utilize a wide variety of media, including radio and television which may become very influential in determining methods and even content.

Traditional media suitable for individuals and small groups include art, dance, demonstration, drama (live and puppet theatre), exhibitions (specimens, models, displays), festivals, group discussion, person to person communication (extension worker, tutor, etc.), songs, visits, and writing. Other media for individuals and small groups are audio cassettes, tapes and discs; books and pamphlets; charts; computer terminals; closed circuit television; films and filmstrips; flannelgraphs; flash cards; handbills; newsletters; photographs and projected slides; posters; telephones; video cassettes, tapes and discs; and view data. Media for mass communication are print materials (correspondence lessons, books, magazines and newspapers), radio and television.

Traditional media have been used for centuries for fostering culture, preserving values, and shaping new attitudes. It is a pity that their value has been so often overlooked in modern education for they actively involve the learner and are usually inexpensive. Radio and television make good use of traditional media such as demonstration, discussion and drama. For example, a popular and long-running radio programme in Britain is a dramatized serial about country folk in which incidents in the story draw attention to features of rural life and inform the listeners how members of the community deal with their problems. Another example of a combination of traditional and mass media for community education is the use of song in public education campaigns. Songs with catchy tunes can be learned easily and are useful for conveying informative messages.

Audio cassettes, tapes and discs are particularly suitable for the non-formal education of individuals and small groups. They are relatively inexpensive, easily copied and packaged and can be used by literates and illiterates alike at times they find convenient.

Additions to the range of new media for individuals and groups are computer terminals for computer-assisted learning, telephone link-ups for one-to-one discussion or conference calls, and view data by which the learner has access through television to data-banks of information. Although these media are being used increasingly in developed countries they are rarely available for non-formal education in developing countries as they are costly and require sophisticated telecommunications networks.

The media with the greatest potential for promoting change through mass campaigns are newspapers. Rural newspapers particularly have played a vital role in community development by conveying information on agriculture, health, and home and family life. The use of bold print for such newspapers is particularly valuable for newly literate adults.

Kobina Asiedu reports[9] on a rural newspaper in Ghana, established in 1946:

The role of newspapers, journals and other periodicals in the continuing education of members of the literate community cannot be over-emphasized. But they have limited value in the promotion of continuing education of new literates. In developing countries, literacy development efforts must be concentrated in rural areas where the majority of the illiterates live, but most national dailies—being largely urban in origin—devote hardly any of their columns to rural problems. Although the level of English used in these dailies is generally low, it is nevertheless beyond the comprehension of new literates, a problem compounded by the fact that the news items describe urban environments which are strange to most rural dwellers. Rural newspapers, published in the local languages and devoting most of their columns to rural problems are most useful. With the help of UNESCO, and other local bodies, about five of such rural newspapers have been established in Africa.

In 1946 the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana, with the help of UNESCO, established the rural newspaper 'Kpodoga' (meaning 'gong', a symbol for rallying the community) for the Ewe-speaking people of the Awudome district of the Volta Region. This farming district had long-standing connections with the Institute which, with the help of the local people, built a Residential Adult College there as far back as 1952. From this College, the Institute operated an integrated rural development project which included short courses for the local farmers and social organizations, as well as a demonstration farm. The rural newspaper was envisaged as a further component of the rural development programme. The Institute employs two editors who, in addition to gathering news, organize reading clubs and community development associations. The newspaper, which is published every month in the Ewe language, is printed by the Information Services Department for the cost of newsprint and ink. The newspaper runs a bi-monthly supplement on population and family-life education. The initial circulation was 2,500 but by the end of 1977 had risen to 5,000, and more requests have been received from people in adjoining areas asking if the newspaper's coverage could be extended to their areas.

The newspaper provides a forum for discussion of problems in the Awudome area, and serves as a vehicle for the dissemination of information and ideas for the improvement of agriculture and health; it also promotes civic consciousness among the people. Each issue is flooded with letters from farmers seeking advice on how to improve the yields of their crops and from people interested in improving the general quality of life within their villages. Health officers and other extension agents use the newspaper to disseminate relevant information to members of the community. The availability of the newspaper has encouraged the formation of various reading clubs which, in addition to encouraging basic reading and post-literacy reading activities, also discuss critically the issues raised in the newspaper. These clubs are at times moved to undertake various development projects in the community such as the building of incinerators, schools, and modern amenities.

Returning to the Report of the Delhi Conference:

Printed materials are used extensively for publicity, reinforcement and direct teaching. They can be produced with reprographic equipment ranging from the simple felt-tip pen and broadsheet to the more complex offset litho printing machine. Silk screen printing is a useful low-cost method for reproducing coloured posters for local publicity campaigns. The need for such basic materials as writing implements, notebooks and blackboard chalk should not be overlooked in planning non-formal education projects or new manufacturing enterprises.

Correspondence materials are a form of mass media as they are used by thousands of students simultaneously. Some correspondence institutions are able to reinforce the print medium with audio-visual media such as audio or video cassettes or tapes, slides and filmstrips.

Radio is an attractive medium for non-formal education. It is not expensive to establish a small radio station, and modern technology makes it possible to operate one with a staff of one or two. Transistor radios have become commonplace even in the remotest parts of the world. None the less, they are still too expensive for many poor people, and governments should consider regarding radios as special education aids and exempt them from licence fees and sales tax where they apply. Radio has been used, for example, in Botswana to help people understand the National Development Plan. In India it has been used in farm improvement programmes; in Tanzania for nationwide health and hygiene campaigns; in the Pacific, the satellite PEACESAT has provided radio links between individuals and groups, and in Australia many children in remote areas receive their schooling using radios powered by specially developed pedal generators.

Television has a more powerful impact than radio, but it has limitations and is more expensive. Ground relay networks can extend the range of television but their expense can be justified only in densely populated areas. Geostationary communications satellites can extend the range of television across huge areas without the provision of a ground network. This was how India, using its Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), was able to reach 2,400 rural villages with television programmes for schoolchildren and adults.

High cost may rule out the selection of some media, while low cost can influence the selection of others which may be found unsuitable. Costs must be balanced against flexibility and adaptability. For example, the capital cost of a 16 mm film projector is almost the same as a video tape machine but the former is much less adaptable. The flexibility of various printing processes can vary considerably, and the selection of machines will normally be determined by the nature and number of publications required.

It is often claimed that distance teaching is less expensive than conventional schooling, and that educational technology reduces the cost of schooling. This is not entirely true since the fixed costs involved in setting up a system can be very high. These costs cannot be recovered until the number of students using the media has reached a certain level. Beyond this break-even point the cost per head falls rapidly.

The choice of media for any non-formal education project should be based on a rational attempt to analyse the likely costs and benefits. However, it is almost impossible to be precise in comparing the benefits of different combinations of media. Cost benefit analysis is not an exact science and is rarely the factor that decides which media are selected. Nevertheless, accurate costing has a significant effect on the attitudes of authorities providing the initial funds and also on their continuing support.

It is essential to separate capital costs from running costs and to recognize that the accuracy of any costing decreases rapidly the further into the future it is projected. Ideally, there should be a commitment by the funding body to support the complete costs so that those working on projects are not continually worried about finding funds and matching expenditure to budget heads.

There are many hidden costs that need to be taken into consideration if a true assessment is to be made. For example, the cost of broadcasting time given to ministries of education, agriculture and health for their programmes is often not calculated. Savings are also possible. The common practice by correspondence institutions of using part-time teachers and lecturers for marking students' assignments is much less expensive than using full-time staff.

A choice of media is not always possible. In local programmes particularly, the media used may depend solely on what is available. It is important for planners to know what media are already available, and what can be managed with their financial, technical and staff resources. There is no point in dreaming of a huge multi-media literacy project reaching large numbers of people if funds are sufficient only to provide a spirit duplicator and two literacy workers.

No prescription for the best medium or even the best combination of media is possible. Ultimately the choice will be determined by the circumstances surrounding a particular project. For example, the most appropriate media for a nation-wide programme in a small country like Singapore will not be appropriate for programme with similar aims in a large one like India. None the less, it is reasonably certain that a combination of media is preferable to a single medium, and wherever possible non-formal education programmes should adopt a multi-media approach.

Multi-Media Approaches

In a survey of the literature on multi-media approaches in non-formal education, Robin Twite[10] notes five main conclusions:

First there seems to be general agreement that in most cases, a multi-media approach is more effective than the use of a single medium on its own. There are of course exceptions to any general rule, but the conclusion set out in the pamphlet published by the International Extension College in 1973 is still valid:

> The evidence of communications research and the experience of most of the case studies presented in this report suggest that the distance media used in combination are more effective than any one of them on its own, and that the greater the number of channels of communication employed in a project the more they are able to compliment each other and thereby maximize their individual qualities.[11]

Secondly, there is a growing realization of the fact that control and direction of educational media by central governments or state authorities has its limitations, particularly where rural development is concerned. The technical achievements of the centrally controlled media, television or radio, are undoubtedly of a higher quality than anything that can normally be produced locally. On the other hand, there is an increasing amount of evidence to show that only when the media are closely linked in some way to local need and, perhaps, subject to a certain amount of local control, can the best results be achieved.

Thirdly, there is an increased awareness of the necessity for more sophisticated ways of costing projects, and of the media element within them. The effectiveness of non-formal education has to be judged not only in terms of the numbers of people who are reached but also in terms of what else could have been done with the funds deployed had they been invested elsewhere in entirely different types of activity.

Fourthly, there seems to be a new realization of the great difficulty of evaluating the success or failure of any given project. Over and above the general considerations as to whether or not a project has succeeded, there are questions of a more subtle kind, such as: Which of the media used in a project, assuming there have been more than one, has been the most effective?

Fifthly, we can observe the curious fact that from most accounts of specific projects it is easy to gain a general picture of the structure of systems of non-formal education being used, but it is quite difficult to get any idea of what is really being taught and of the content of courses. The materials used are often available only in a local language which is not known outside the particular country or even the particular state where it is prepared. Therefore when we look at the total picture of any non-formal scheme or enterprise, we may find that we know a great deal about the number of hours spent by students or participants watching television or listening to radio, but very little about what is actually taught. We should perhaps pay more attention to content and to the preparation of adequate scripts.

All these points will be examined further, but before doing so, two other observations should be made.

First that it may be helpful for us to consider the use of media in two separate contexts:

(a) The use of the multi-media in mass campaigns of various sorts such as those organized in Tanzania or in China.
(b) The use of the multi-media to provide support for specific courses offering qualifications or an organized body of knowledge such as those offered by the Open University and its descendants, or the distance learning systems currently being developed in Sri Lanka or Korea.

It may be useful to make a distinction between non-formal education which is non-formal only in the sense that it does not take place within a classroom but which leads to formal qualifications, and mass education of a general kind that does not fit naturally within the confines of any academic discipline. The recognition of this distinction may help to focus attention on the problems involved with each. The mass campaign with its open-ended aspect, must be distinguished from an open university type of course which is controlled by a given curriculum, assessed by examination and which generally speaking reaches fewer people, at a higher cost, but which more readily can be shown to produce the trained manpower needed in a way in which mass campaigns cannot always be shown to do and indeed do not aim to do.

The second observation which is perhaps so glaringly obvious as to be scarcely worth stating, is that when one emerges from reading the literature on the use of media in non-formal education it is perhaps as well to remember that by itself non-formal education cannot effect great changes on a society. Only if it is supported or arises as a result of a change in the basic condition of the rural population will it be really effective. People will become literate if they see a good reason to do so; otherwise they may go through the motions of obtaining literacy but (as has been demonstrated on a number of occasions) they may rapidly forget what they have learned if they have no use for it. Advice on nutrition will only be worth while if new food grains or basic commodities are available to those who receive it. The most effective non-formal education and the most effective use of media come about when the economic condition of individuals changes and those changes are anticipated by and linked to education. The unpalatable truth must be faced that sometimes the efforts of those involved in education are of much less significance than the impact of a change in the basic situation of the rural population which was neither foreseen nor welcomed by educationists. However, it is part of the task of those involved in education to foresee such changes.

Having made these two general points, I should like to turn back to the five points and raise certain questions which we may like to pursue relating to them. The use of multi-media is generally more effective than the use of a single medium.

If we accept the truth of the above statement, then we must bear in mind the fact that using multi-media is necessarily more complex than using each medium separately. In the Tanzanian Health Campaign for example, many of the booklets published did not reach the locality for which they were intended in time to be of use.[12] The experience of the British Open University has been that a complex system involving the use of television, radio, written materials, self-assessment exercises and so on, is very demanding in terms of the number of staff used and the amount of time needed to develop the appropriate expertise.

We can assume that a multi-media approach needs more time for planning and more training than a programme involving the use of a single medium. To put out undifferentiated radio broadcasts is a relatively easy business, but to make sure that anybody listens to it is a different matter. In his pamphlet on the use of radio, Emil McAnany points out how few people have listened regularly and consistently to the radio schools of Latin America.

There remains however, the question: 'Which media are to be used for which purpose?' Sometimes the answer is easy; for example, if the target audience is largely illiterate then a large expenditure on written materials is not justified, but this degree of simplicity is unusual. It is more likely that the target population will include both literates and illiterates.

Research is needed to find out which media carry which messages best. Even if we accept, as many now do, that radio is by far the most effective medium for rural development communication, there still remains the problem of how to make sure that people listen to it. This then is a question we could look at in more detail.

Assuming that a multi-media approach is to be used in mass campaigns, the participation of local community and rural development workers is almost certain to be necessary if any worthwhile results are to be achieved. Somebody has to take the first step within a village society, to draw the attention of the people to an activity designed for their benefit. It is impractical for those involved in non-formal education to employ a large staff of their own simply to activate rural communities. They must in general reconcile themselves to using people already available and this in turn implies considerable finance for training. It is important to properly articulate and motivate individuals who already have jobs and for whom non-formal education projects may in the first instance simply represent a new demand on their time.

The necessity for community involvement may not be so acute in cases where, as in the technicians' courses at the Sri Lanka Institute for Distance Education, students are preparing for specific qualifications. The local community may have less to contribute in such cases but still the institution must recruit for the courses and organize the various activities related to them and this again involves local participation. Returning to mass campaigns and programmes for rural development, we can see that a good deal of recent comment has concentrated on the question of how far local leadership and organizations can be tapped. For example, Syed Rahim in a paper on 'Communication approaches in rural development'[13] points out how difficult it is to get poor villagers to participate at any level. 'The poor villagers who do not own adequate means of production to apply the new technologies have become more desperate and alienated. They are unorganized, and have no communication linkages with the sources of power at the national level. They cannot exert sufficient pressure on the governments to bring about institutional changes that would create opportunities for them to participate in the processes of development. Many leaders in the government admit the need for institutional changes, and the desirability of organizing and mobilizing the rural poor. But they do not take any immediate and significant action. The political forces operating in favour of the poor villagers are not strong enough to compel the leaders to initiate radical reform.' Or again, as Bryant Kearl points out in his paper in the same volume,[14] 'most rural people have some difficulty in identifying the choices that are or might be open to them in relation to the resources they have or might reasonably expect to obtain.' In other words, there must be found within any given community one or two individuals who are potentially capable of taking the lead. This will not always be easy.

In spite of this there have been a number of efforts to motivate rural communities by using the media. Among the more promising are:

(a) The use of local radio stations. Experiments in the use of local radio have taken place in a variety of contexts. In some cases the local population have been offered the chance to participate in existing programmes and a genuine two-way communication has taken place (as in the case of the All-India Radio Farm Forums); in others there has been an effort to provide local authorities with their own broadcasting equipment and to persuade rural populations to help in making their own programmes.

(b) The valiant efforts which have been made to exploit the potential of video-tape in an effort to animate communities. These have been subject to some criticism recently. In an article in the September 1978 number of 'Educational Broadcasting International', Ross Kidd writes about the use of video in Botswana and demonstrates that the hopes placed upon it in a non-formal context were exaggerated. 'Video was used in the first two campaigns—in 1974 as a device for recording the group discussion reports . . . and then in 1975 to present village discussions about development projects and problems recorded before the campaign. However, in 1976 video was dropped as part of the campaign. The equipment used had become unreliable and seemed to add considerable complexity to the campaign's operation. Too much time was being taken up in setting it up and operating it. The change co-incided with the general reassessment of video's suitability for rural education. By 1976 the organizers had overcome their earlier infatuation with the medium. Although simple to operate, video is bulky, fragile, often unreliable and difficult to maintain'.

(c) More important perhaps is the development of local facilities for printing and the production, not of necessary books, but of booklets, pamphlets, posters, and other ephemera. It is perhaps in the development of very simple facilities for printing that the best future for local participation lies (though some recent experience in Sierra Leone has shown that this may not be as easy—to find and pay reliable personnel, to get spare parts etc., may be difficult).

Whichever medium is used there remains the question of control. A local radio station, or for that matter a local newspaper, will find it difficult to avoid involving itself in questions such as the degree of responsiveness of local officials or elected politicians. This will bring them straight into politics. It would not be easy to confine such local initiatives to strictly educational topics and indeed should they be so confined they may very often be less effective.

Training

It was noted in Chapter 1, that the motivation of senior officials, teachers and other functionaries is likely to come about partly through proper training. Looked at in another way, whereas 'training' in formal education is largely a matter for teachers or superiors, in non-formal education the scope has to be widened to include many more groups and individuals. Indeed it could be argued that the whole society needs to receive some kind of training to be aware of the contribution non-formal education can make to economic and social development. It was remarkable how almost all committees at the Delhi Conference made some reference to training. It was recognized that non-formal education requires widespread commitment by participants at all levels. To achieve this commitment it may be necessary to provide training programmes for a large number of groups. Conference Recommendation 22 lists the priority groups as follows:

(a) Senior policy makers

(b) Specialists, such as doctors, nurses and other health workers, agriculturalists, veterinarians and others working with community groups.

(c) All those who work in a non-formal education capacity with community groups and organizations (e.g. agricultural extension workers and village-level workers).

(d) Those who train the trainers of non-formal educators.

(e) Curriculum developers and researchers engaged in non-formal education activities.

The Conference Report records that:—

> Policy makers and planners may need training to become aware of the objectives and potential of programmes in non-formal education. They also need to be kept informed of the progress and effectiveness of programmes. Furthermore, officials at this level should be aware of the need for interaction between non-formal education and other development services provided by government departments and non-government agencies. In order to create the kind of flexible structures necessary to back up effective development-oriented non-formal education, administrators require a proper understanding of its principles and practices. In particular they need to know the implications of a people-centred development strategy and what this means in terms of non-formal education.
>
> Training for these officials can be carried out in a range of courses and orientation seminars in which workers and functionaries from other levels also participate to explain the aims of programmes and report to the officials. In addition, personal contact through community councils and other official bodies can be valuable in explaining the purposes and functions of non-formal education to senior-level personnel. In all these efforts, the primary aim should be to involve these key personnel in the programmes.
>
> Senior-level personnel are usually responsible for arranging the release of lower-level workers for in-service training. Release arrangements are likely to be made more smoothly where the senior officials themselves are trained to understand the purposes, methods and the value of non-formal education for development. This may require the provision of special training.
>
> Senior and middle-level professional staff responsible for non-formal education may be able to learn a great deal from the experiences of programmes in other countries, through short-term multi-disciplinary team visits and longer-term attachments to major non-formal education projects. Such bodies as the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Foundation should support and assist suitable programmes along these lines.
>
> Training programmes for professional workers at the local level must take account of their vital role as educators. It is particularly important that they understand government development policies, structures and resources, the role of their agencies and their own roles in social and economic development. It is also important that they should be aware of all the sources of help available at community level. The aim should be a total consciousness of development...

The teacher from the formal school may or may not be suitable. Formal teachers may be unable to offer the type of expertise which non-formal programmes require unless they see their work in the wider context of the total development effort within their local community. However, it should be recognized that teachers in the formal system have a part to play in development-oriented non-formal education, just as development agencies have a responsibility to work with the schools. The preparation of teachers for a more development-oriented role is essential and must begin in teacher training programmes. Indeed, reform of teacher training towards development objectives (in both in-service and pre-service programmes) should be treated as a priority area for action.

Teacher training should provide teachers with communication skills and techniques for working in community settings. It should increase teachers' awareness of the need for integration of the school and the community, encourage the teachers to recognize the part they can play in non-formal education and help them to see how the community can be involved in their own teaching programmes.

At the level of school-age children, Catherine McLevy has noted that the role of the teacher in non-formal education is very different from that of the teacher in the formal system, at least in India. This role she defines as follows:[15]

(a) To awaken curiosity.
(b) To direct the children's attention towards phenomena.
(c) To develop their learning skills.
(d) To make information available to them.
(e) To develop their capacity to select what is relevant, to evaluate, to decide.
(f) To co-ordinate the group in its activities.
(g) To animate the children, as individuals and as a group.
(h) To involve the community in the children's learning activities.
(i) To identify resources for learning and for inquiry, within and outside the immediate environment of the children.

She continues:

> The teacher thus becomes a partner in an adventure of discovery where the children are concerned, instead of the great repository of all knowledge which he often appears to be in the formal school. Gray's Village Schoolmaster has many modern counterparts, but they are fighting a rearguard action, because it is no longer possible for 'one small head' to carry all knowledge. The ultimately useful skills for a teacher will be those which enable the students to find things out for themselves, to discover the relationships between apparently unrelated facts, and to judge their significance in the light of sound value-systems fully internalized.

The most suitable teachers are educated and intelligent members of the local community who take up the work more for the service they can render in building up their community's future than for monetary or other reward. It is probable that a team approach would be better than leaving it all to one person, not in the sense of one or two people taking the classes alternately, but really working as a team, contributing different gifts and skills to the work and sharing in the task of collecting material, identifying the persons who may be needed from time to time to contribute special skills or knowledge, and in general representing the adult community to the children.

The teacher from the formal school may or may not be part of the team. The limited experience of the writer would suggest that trained teachers have more difficulty than others in adapting themselves to the radically different situation of the non-formal education programme, but it would be unjust to generalize from this since it is a very limited local experience indeed.

If the work is done by a team rather than an individual, and especially if there is outside assistance in the form of a documentation centre or material production centre providing at least part of the needs of several village programmes, the work is best done by part-time teachers who have real roots in the world of work. Even if it is a single individual, it is better that he does this work part-time so he will not become detached from the realities which he must enable the children to interpret for themselves. But it has to be admitted that if there is no outside assistance in finding documentation on particular topics or issues, and in preparing various devices for learning which stimulate the children's activity, the task will always consume a great deal of time.

The training required is intensive, but need not be of very long duration. Given a modicum of goodwill and intelligence, the teachers can receive their initial training in a residential camp of about twelve to fifteen days, with refresher courses of two to three days at intervals of about four months, and regular monthly meetings for reflection together on their experience and for mutual aid, exchange of ideas and materials.

The initial training would need to comprise, first, about three days of self-discovery, to understand their own motivations as individuals and as a group. This is achieved through simulation games, discussions, role-play, case-studies and so on. The second phase, of about four or five days, would be spent in discovering, or rather objectifying, the reality of the rural situation both on the material and the social level. The last four or five days are spent practising educational techniques suited to the non-formal programme and learning to assemble and prepare suitable materials for the classes.

Problems of recruitment of teachers arise first from the need to find, or develop, community concern among not only the likely candidates but the whole adult population of the village. Financial rewards for so strenuous an occupation will rarely be adequate motivation to induce persons to undertake the work, and still less to persevere in it. And since the classes are part-time, the need to earn a livelihood in some other occupation while devoting all one's spare time and energy to this, will require a very high degree of motivation and generosity on the part of the workers. This will to some degree be made easier if the team approach can be adopted, not merely because the work for each one will be less, but also because the mutual support will give them comradeship and confidence in the enterprise.

To return to the report of the Delhi Conference:

Village-level workers should be chosen from and by the villagers themselves. Their training must build upon the knowledge and culture of the village, that is

> traditional non-formal education must merge with new ideas, skills and attitudes. In some cases village-level workers may be generalists supported by specialists at a higher level; in others they will be local specialists in their own right. They will all need to be skilful at facilitating communication between local communities and the development agencies.
>
> Inter-agency co-operation in training field personnel is necessary if non-formal education is to contribute positively to development. Every effort should be made to encourage interchange between trainees from different agencies through inter-agency courses at all levels. Some of this training should be undertaken on a collaborative basis and should include teachers from the formal system. Fully integrated rural development is difficult to achieve: a sense of identity amongst all non-formal educators has to be developed together with the feeling that they are engaged in a common task.

In many countries we have a situation where expert communicators (e.g. agricultural extension workers) know much about one part of the non-formal education of adults, but find it difficult to see themselves as components of a wider whole. A major task of training programmes is to ensure that extension workers operate on a concept of extension that recognizes both the developmental and educational aspects of their work. This means that part of the extension workers' training should be to increase their understanding of their role as educators.

In his paper on 'Extension Workers as Educators', David Macharia describes the role and training needs of extension officers:

> Although situations may vary, it can be stated at the outset that the officer will have a fairly low level of formal academic education. In Kenya, persons who have finished high school are now coming forward simply because better-paying jobs are hard to come by. The lack of adequate formal education becomes a barrier to self-education during adulthood since self-directed learning has not been instilled in the person concerned. It must be admitted however that rural libraries with up-to-date materials in various subjects hardly exist.
>
> Secondly, despite the availability of various specialized training schools, the extension officer at the grass roots seems to have limited technical know-how in the subject he is expected to extend to the rural families. In fact, it is known that some rural families have more technical knowledge than the extension officer, thus causing him at times quite a bit of embarrassment. This is particularly true with 'progressive' families who, because they have attended various courses in agriculture, nutrition, maternal and child health/family planning, etc. at various Farmers' Training Centres and other adult education institutions, have come across new information which might not have reached the extension officer.
>
> The need then for the extension officer to renew and update his technical knowledge cannot be over-emphasized. Examples are plentiful of families who refuse to turn up for meetings summoned by extension officers, especially when the families have heard the same story time and again.

Thirdly, the extension officer has little or no training in the skills and techniques of passing to the rural families what little technical information he may have. This lack of skills in communication, human relations, leadership, and general teaching methods alienates the officer concerned and may easily turn the families against him. Lack of motivational skills may even result in the loss of those families who have already been contacted, while getting new acceptors becomes an uphill battle...*

The fourth point concerns recruitment and training. Being civil servants, extension officers are normally recruited and trained centrally. This means that the officer will most likely be given 'national' examples during his training and it is his business to pick the 'local' ones after he has received his posting orders. As he may be posted away from his home, his first disadvantage is that he is a stranger. If on the other hand he is posted at home, the biblical story of a prophet not being known at his own home may easily apply.

This dilemma makes it even more important that the officer, apart from having an adequate command of his technical subject, also possesses enough skills and techniques of assessing the needs of his new community; skills of how to lead the community and to satisfy those needs, etc. Whoever he is and wherever he comes from, the extension officer's first duty must be to cultivate rapport with the community. It is only after this that he can hope to start 'educating' that community.

Taking this issue of recruitment one step further, should extension officers, at the grass-roots level, be posted back to their home area after training? In Kenya the answer seems to be positive. This has recently been done with maternal and child health/family planning field workers, and it is the practice with the lowest levels in the provincial administration. The Chinese barefoot doctor[16] idea goes an extra step. A small community identifies an officer amongst its members, sends him for training relevant to the needs of that community and the officer returns to the very community for service. The same 'barefoot doctor' principles, with local modifications, are being affected under what is now commonly referred to as 'primary (village-level) health care projects', supported by UNICEF and WHO. Kenya now has a number of such projects, (which have yet to be documented); so does Colombia.[17]

The writer has no personal experience of barefoot agricultural, community development or youth extension officers. In theory there is no reason why such people could not be recruited, though perhaps there is more community feeling in health matters than say in agriculture.

In some newer developing countries, badly plagued by sectionalism and tribalism, national unity becomes the paramount concern. This concern is generally advanced as the main reason why officers should be made to think 'national', hence national recruitment, national training and national posting. However, the possible advantages of local (language is one) are so clear that perhaps other means of enhancing national unity should be sought. If this is done, the officer will be free to work at his home area—an environment he knows well and which knows him.

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*See similar experiences of Rakesh Hooja; 'Theory, Practice and Alternative Approaches to Rural Adult Education'. *Indian Journal of Adult Education,* 39, 7, July 1978, pp.17–20.

If from the foregoing it seems that our extension services are manned by incompetent and good-for-nothing nationals, the writer stands corrected for he has personal knowledge of many devoted, competent and knowledgeable officers, both men and women, and who are well loved by the families they work with. These have been the pillars of the service, whether in agriculture, community development, youth or health. However, it must be accepted that each of our countries could do with a few more of the 'good' ones.

The extension officer may not be well qualified, and he may be facing many problems. Even so he is the only one available and he has a job to perform. He is the frontline person on whom families depend. It is therefore important to outline what he is expected to do, both by his employer and by those to whom he is supposed to give service.

In most developing countries extension officers will mainly be civil servants. So apart from their technical role, they will also have an added political role as the 'eyes of government'. But as the economy and the way of life in developing countries are *planned*, perhaps there is little conflict between the two roles. In general, the extension officer is an educator and a link between the families and government. In this capacity he has to perform the following tasks:

(a) He is expected to interpret the broad policies of the state to the families, giving enough information and explanation for the policies to be easily understood, and perhaps accepted.
(b) He is expected to interpret families' needs, feelings, expectations, etc. and feed these back to policy makers.
(c) He is expected to motivate the people and condition them mentally for the process of change.
(d) He should make sure that the necessary resources to affect action are available...This demands that he has an accurate knowledge of what people need, what resources are at their disposal, and how to acquire these resources.
(e) He is expected to have skills in training and teaching.
(f) He is supposed to seek people's participation (including that of local leaders of whatever nature) in order to make sure that whatever is to be undertaken succeeds. To be able to do this, he will have to convince the people about the value of the project, its expected costs in terms of materials and labour, possible side-effects, etc.
(g) He is also expected to seek the co-operation of the other officers working in his locality. It seems that most grass-root officers are aware of the need to work with others (certainly they are much more aware of this need than their bosses), although they may lack the skills to do this.

These tasks are formidable. In the circumstances, what can be done to help the extension officer to perform his job better...to be exactly what he should be—a resource person for all types of information and services, whether within or outside his own specialization? Every country will have its own answers based on and coloured by the special conditions prevailing in that country. The writer will, however, venture to offer a few strategies based on his own experience.

Apart from being able to give the family the technical knowledge required to grow a particular crop or avoid a particular disease, an extension officer should be able to motivate the family to aim for greater heights of production, better health, etc. by suggesting alternatives or better methods. The extension officer will need to be knowledgeable in various areas. Thus:

(a) He should understand general governmental policies concerning development of his own country and be able to appreciate the magnitude of its problems, what resources are available, etc.

(b) He should also understand the local scene—the kind of community he is working with, its norms, etc.

(c) He should know as much as possible about his subject. He should also know the sources of fresh information and be in touch with these (e.g. research stations.)

(d) In addition to this knowledge of his specific subject, he should have some knowledge of related and even far-off subjects. This is important because rural families look at their problems in totality and therefore look at the extension worker as a resource person for all these integrated problems. To make his task easier in this regard, he should be in touch and in good working relationship with other extension officers who can come to his aid as needs be.

(e) An extension officer must have skills of communications with the families, of organizing learning events, of analysing needs, and of leadership. He should have skills of evaluating his own performance.

Most extension workers receive a fair amount of training in their technical subjects at their departments' training centres. However, very little, if anything, is offered on the other fields outlined above. The importance of these others cannot be over-emphasized, especially when we accept that a lot of failure in extension work does not mainly result from lack of technical information, but rather on how the available information is delivered. For instance, in most pre-service training centres, the use of audio-visual aids is never taught, and the few aids which are available are hardly used by the teachers themselves. Unfortunately, there are very few good training institutions specializing in giving communication, human relations and leadership skills, as well as skills on how to plan learning events. Because of this dearth, these subjects are simply given up. Largely through the leadership of the Institute of Adult Studies, there is now great interest in Kenya in this area of extension training. The Institute has concentrated on training trainers, who in their turn will train others.

As the Report of the Delhi Conference says:

> The number of people able to plan and teach in training programmes may be very small. Where this is the case it is vitally important that skilled personnel are used to train trainers rather than spread their skills so thinly that they are ineffective. Some countries are already concentrating their human resources in this way; for example, the Institute of Adult Education has responsibility for such programmes in Tanzania.
>
> Efforts should be made to decentralize training, since it should be carried out in close proximity to non-formal programmes. Emphasis should be on in-service and on-the-job training. Initial training may be appropriate for some workers, but, as many countries have recognized, the integration of non-

formal education with development is more likely to be successful if non-formal education workers are given post-experience training to upgrade pedagogical skills...

In terms of content there are two main factors to be borne in mind. Firstly, training courses have to aim at promoting a sense of identity among non-formal educators. Secondly, their role as communicators must be emphasized and developed.

A sense of identity is necessary so that they may be equipped to meet the multiple demands inherent in their work. The commitment of the teacher to non-formal education is also a very important quality. Where it is absent, a programme is less likely to succeed.

The main *skills* needed are those of good communication; above all the non-formal educator must be a competent communicator. In training programmes for extension workers particularly, high priority should be given to communication skills. Moreover, successful communicators in non-formal education, should have a good understanding of how learners, (particularly adults) learn. They should also possess the skills of planning and evaluating non-formal education programmes.

Training programmes should take into account the class and cultural backgrounds of those who are being trained and the groups they will be working with. An understanding of these backgrounds and their implications in non-formal education should form part of the training. Trainees need this knowledge in order to be able to interpret national development goals to the communities in which they are required to work.

Finally, for the same reason that the learner should be the focal point of the non-formal curriculum, the trainees should be the focal point of the training programmes and should participate in planning and developing the curriculum of their own course.

APPENDIX

Model Curriculum for Non-Formal Education of Village Children (C. McLevy)*

Non-Formal Education Classes at age of Six Years

1. At the end of one year each child should:

   (a) Be able to wash, bathe, comb and take headbath by himself and also be able to do these things for slightly younger children, and should know the advantages of clean, healthy bodies.

   (b) Be able to wash his or her own clothing, clean the house and environment, taking pride in the beauty of clean things and places, and knowing the value of this cleanliness for health.

   (c) Be able to care for one or more domestic animals, including the work of feeding, taking to graze, washing the animal, cleaning the shed. If caring for a dog, be able to train it to obey simple commands.

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*Extracted from 'The Future of Non-Formal Education: Some Facts', in *Backdrop to the Learning Society*, Malcolm S. Adiseshiah (ed.), Indian Council for Social Science Research, New Delhi, 1978.

(d) Be able to maintain a small vegetable garden, levelling, planting, weeding, watering and gathering the products, learning also to distinguish weeds from useful plants, and the contribution each vegetable makes to the health and strength of the body.
(e) Play 'kho-kho', 'nondi', 'pambaram' and simple ball-games and learning to keep scores where appropriate.
(f) Be able to express himself in speech and writing, and to read simple sentences about the activities mentioned above, and about other simple matters of daily life. If some very special event occurs in the village during the year, be able to speak, read and write simple sentences about it.
(g) Be able to count scores in the games, where appropriate, to measure the sides of the vegetable garden, count the number of plants of each kind which can grow in it, and calculate how many could be grown in gardens whose areas are multiples of this.
(h) Be able to play with clay, making and unmaking different shapes according to their interest.

2. In all these activities, learn to value conscientious effort more than achievements through the manner in which praise and rebuke are administered and through the help given by the teacher and others.

Non-Formal Education Classes at Age of Seven Years

3. At the end of one and one-half years each child should:

(a) Be able to do all that the children of six years can do.
(b) Be able to find the way to the important places in the village.
(c) Know the value of different coins, and the price of different articles of common use. Be able to work out how best to spend a fixed sum to achieve different objects, such as preparing for a meal, buying seeds for the garden, animal fodder, or wood.
(d) Be able to grow food-grains in small plots, recognizing seed and growing plant, and knowing the food value of the different grains, comparing the yield of different varieties grown by different children.
(e) The boys should be able to:

(i) Handle simple tools, such as the hammer and the saw to make boxes, tables, stools, and to keep the tools in good condition.
(ii) Build walls in the traditional way, up to a height of three feet, smoothing them off well.
The girls should be able to:
(i) Take care of small babies, feeding, washing, bathing, toilet-training, dressing, putting them to sleep and knowing how to discern a child's need when it cries. Knowing also the value of toilet-training in protecting the child from dysentery, ascariasis, etc.
(ii) Prepare simple foods for cooking—measuring out the required amounts for a given number of persons, cleaning, cutting vegetables, etc. and clean and care for kitchen equipment.

(f) Be able to read, write and speak about all the activities mentioned above, and about extended family relationships, in simple sentences. Be able to read simple stories with pleasure.

(g) Measure and calculate quantities for the activities mentioned, including fairly accurate measuring and cutting of the wood in (e)(i), so that, for example, the boxes made are adequate for a purpose chosen beforehand (e.g. to keep the balls used in play).
(h) Boys should be able to play 'kabadi' at an elementary level, knowing and accepting the rules. Girls should be able to join in 'kummi' with the older children; and in the social relationships which develop in the class and environment, be able to distinguish truth from falsehood and to choose truth.

Non-Formal Education at Age of Eight Years
4. At the end of one and one-half years the child should:

(a) Be able to do all that six and seven year-old children can do with superior skill.
(b) Be able to understand the system of irrigation used in the village well, tank or river, together with the operation of a hand-pump, and 'etram' and a 'kamalai', and be able to maintain these things in good repair.
(c) Be able to keep irrigation channels clear, and know why it must be done.
(d) Be able to weed the fields cultivated by the family.
(e) Know the different trees growing in and around the village, their usefulness and how best to make use of them without harm to them. By enquiry in the village, find out how long it takes for different trees to grow. Draw practical conclusions from this information. Plant and care for a useful tree which can grow in the soil and climate of the village.
(f) Boys should be able to use and care for more advanced carpentry tools, such as a plane, chisel, vice, etc. and give a better finish to articles made. Make simple toys for the younger children.
Girls should be able to cook a simple meal with attention to cleanliness, balanced food values, and taste.
Both should be able to weave coconut palm leaves into thatch.
(g) From the experience of irrigation, etc. above, know the importance of water for life and hence learn to use it with respect and without waste.
(h) Make a simple solar still with a long shallow open dish or trough covered with transparent plastic whose edges rest in similar dishes into which the condensed and evaporated water can drop. Place these both in sunlight and shade. Draw conclusions about the cause of evaporation. Draw conclusions about the effect, from the taste of water and of the deposit in the main dish.
(i) Be able to discuss the above activities and to read and write about them with some degree of fluency.
(j) In disputes which arise among the children, be able to decide what is right according to reason not personal feeling.
(k) Be able to recognize the 'munsif', the 'kanakku pillai' and the headman, and know which one to go to for help in different difficulties.
(l) Be able to tell stories to younger children.

Non-Formal Education for Age of Nine Years
5. At the end of one and one-half years the child should:

(a) Be able to do and know all that the younger children have learnt.

(b) Be able to milk goats and cows with due attention to cleanliness in their own person, the animal, and the equipment and surroundings. Compare the yield of different cows and of the same cow at different times, and try to find out why there is a difference in food (different grasses) care and surroundings, the breed of the cow, or a combination of these. This involves liquid measurement and the maintenance of records over a period of time.
(c) Be able to fence round the younger childrens' garden plots with palm leaf thatch and poles from local trees.
(d) Boys should be able to help fix posts for a roof and to tie the thatch in place properly. Girls should be able to stitch simple skirts by hand, and if possible by machine, and repair clothing neatly.
(e) Be able to spin thread and weave on a small handloom as a pleasurable activity, perhaps making towels which can be used in the home.
(f) Be able to find the way to the 'taluk' headquarters and Panchayat Union office along with others. Visit these places in a group and by talking to the officials find out what services they bring, or should bring, to the village. Find out a problem in the village which they can help to solve, and write to ask them about it.
(g) Be able to discuss the meaning of what they have done and learnt, to write and read about it. Read and enjoy amusing stories, and simple adventure stories, including those which give in brief the more exciting stories from the national epics and the local folk lore. Be able to evaluate the actions narrated. Be able to compose verses for the 'kummi', which are topical for the children, but without malice and to read stories for younger ones in a way that gives pleasure.
(h) Be able to play 'dyayam', to fly a kite, and through this to learn about wind-strength. Make a toy windmill and a land-yacht, and discuss what work wind-power can be made to do, and what it cannot do.

6. At this stage, children who show a marked aptitude for certain skills should be encouraged (a) to do more, and more difficult, work in these areas; (b) to teach the other children how they do the work.

Non-Formal Education Classes at Age of Ten Years

7. At the end of one year the child should be able to do all that children entering the classes at age of eight can learn in one and one-half years.
8. At the end of one additional year they should:

(a) Be able to do all that children entering at age nine have learnt in one and one-half years.
(b) Be able to understand the working of electric or diesel pumps if they exist in the village.
(c) Boys should be able (i) to make simple cupboards with hinged doors, and wheelbarrows, (ii) repair wooden farm implements, and (iii) dig an earth latrine and persuade the other children to use it properly. Girls should be able to stitch simple blouses and shirts, and cook more advanced meals.
(d) Be able to teach the younger children many of the skills which they have acquired.
(e) Be able to organize the children in their games and preserve good order, with happiness.

(f) Understand the various factors contributing to health in the village, including food, water, cleanliness, air, shade.

(g) Know how to recognize signs of vitamin deficiency in babies and young children, and to correct it by alteration of diet. Know when the child should be taken to the Primary Health Centre. Be able to take him and to carry out the instructions given there.

(h) Be able to understand aspects of justice and injustice in dealings among themselves and to organize a panchayat with administers justice impartially.

(i) Know how to be kind to a child in trouble, or to a handicapped one, and help the handicapped to find acceptance in the society of other children.

(j) Know something of the system of land ownership in the village and the relationship between this and power.

(k) Know something of the way the state and country are governed; who represents their own area in the Assembly and the Lok Sabha, and how they were chosen; be able to write a letter to these representatives, pointing out a need of the village and asking their help to meet it.

(l) Know their own aptitudes and interests and cultivate them realistically, having a positive estimate of their own worth as persons.

Children entering Non-Formal Education at the Age of Eleven Years

9. At the end of one year, the child entering class should be able to do all that children entering at age nine can learn in one and one-half years.

10. At the end of one additional year, the child should:

(a) Be able to do all that children entering at age ten can learn by the end of their second year.

(b) Be able to help in all farming operations undertaken in the village according to their sex, and subject to limitations in their physical development.

(c) Be able to help in all household operations and in the home industry if any, subject to the same limitations, but with the application of their intelligence to overcome them.

(d) Know how to ride a bicycle, maintain it in good condition, and be able to execute simple repairs. Through the cycle, learn some of the fundamental laws of physics, such as the laws of motion, transmission of mechanical energy, transformation of energy, mechanical advantage and its calculation. Also learn the reason why rules of the road are necessary in society by experiencing the difference between riding in country lanes and riding in the nearest town.

(e) Be able to plan for better work in farm and home, and to execute the plan by knowing, and using to advantage, (i) the material resources of the family, (ii) the human resources of the family, and (iii) the resources made available by government or voluntary agencies for rural development.

(f) Know the complementarity of the sexes, and show respect to members of the opposite sex, in the class and out of it.

(g) By observation in the village, be able to understand and internalize some of the more obvious factors which made for a happy marriage, including mutual respect, attitudes to children, attitudes to and of family and neighbours, and financial and other material stresses that need to be overcome;

be able to evaluate critically the social pressures causing some of these stresses.

(h) Be able to read, write and calculate appropriately for the exercise of the manual and social skills listed above.

(i) Be able to read important items in a simple newspaper in mother tongue, and to inform illiterate neighbours about them accurately and without distortion of facts.

(j) Know the fundamental meaning of the land reform laws, be able to decide together by discussion whether they are being duly applied in the village, and know the right officers to approach and the best way to approach them in order to correct any defects in implementation.

(k) Be able, as a group, to frame an imaginative plan to make their village a model village, with due awareness of its existing facilities, its situation in relation to the district and the nearest city, the possibility of developing other material facilities with local resources, and the human, social and value changes required to make the village conform to their ideal.

(l) Be able to form, organize and persevere in a simple club for recreation, discussion, creative activity or other purely social purposes.

(m) Take an active and critical interest in what is done in the Panchayat as well as the Panchayat Union. Know something of the alternative method of village organization known as the Gram Sabha.

11. Many of the skills outlined above will be learnt and practised outside the non-formal education classes, but the class must contribute to the value the children give to these skills, their use of intelligence to develop their mastery of them, and their sense of responsibility in carrying out these tasks.

12. No effort has been made here to pursue the course for each age-group right through, because it is assumed that:

(a) Since younger children learn at a slower rate, the difference in attainment between a child who enrols early and one who enrols later will be rapidly eliminated by the elder learner.

(b) In the free atmosphere of non-formal education, each child can in any case go ahead at his own natural pace as accelerated through positive encouragement, and all, therefore, can taste success by comparing themselves with themselves, not with other children.

13. The farm and home industry have deliberately been made non-specific because every village has the possibility of being different from every other, and this possibility should be encouraged by non-formal education except in so far as it is the result of human or economic retardation or exploitation.

14. Equipment required for courses outlined includes:

(a) A small plot of land for common activities.

(b) Tools of suitable size and weight for the children who are to use them for gardening and farming work; woodwork; cookery; child care; stitching; thatching and walling; repair and maintenance of 'etram', 'kamalai', handpump, mechanical pump, cycle, electric wiring and fuses if they exist in the villages.

(c) Simple games equipment.

(d) Cards, charts, etc. designed for the reading, writing, measuring and calculating activities mentioned. Some general ones could be produced at the district level, but some must be prepared specially for the local situation.
(e) Instruments for measuring length and distance, liquids, weights, etc. both roughly and accurately.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

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16 Kruse, Wolfgang. 'The barefoot doctor—a solution to health needs?' in Adult Education and Development, no.11, September 1978, pp.23–28 for a simplified statement and pre-requisites.

17 Harrison, Paul. 'Building a bridge' in Adult Education and Development, no.11, September 1978, pp.16–22.

CHAPTER 4

Research and Evaluation

In studying the conference papers I was particularly pleased to find an emphasis on the democratization of research. This advocates the removal of a distinction between the researcher and those who are researched, on the basis that each has much to learn from the other and that perhaps it is those who are being researched who hold within themselves the keys to proper and meaningful solutions. In like manner, the democratization of research is apparent in the fact that interest in the problems of development is no longer incidental to the well-funded research institutes of the North, but of central concern to the rapidly developing research institutes of the South.

K. S. Murshid (Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General): Address to the Conference

Introduction

It is now widely accepted that non-formal education needs both research and evaluation. Indeed, if programmes are to be effective then there must be a research and evaluation element built into any programme. The very complexity of non formal education programmes—socially, economically and educationally—makes decision making almost impossible unless that decision making is based on adequate knowledge of what is needed. It is no longer possible to depend merely on the commitment and the experience of the practitioners to cope with the day-to-day functioning of such programmes. Programme planners, organizers, implementers and learners need to be guided by the feedback of operational information provided by research so that policy decisions, as well as planning and implementation decisions are assisted by research findings. Moreover, research is necessary to enable non-formal education workers and learners to make careful and critical inquiries into the situation which confronts them, to identify phenomena and relationships, and more generally, to seek undertakings which can guide actions towards their intended objectives[1].

One immediate problem lies in the nature of research itself and the modes of research and evaluation which have long been current in the formal educational system. What is known as 'traditional' on 'fundamental' research relies heavily on quantitative methods and a predetermined 'research design', often conceived in isolation both from the participants and from the educators. Similarly in evaluation, there is a concentration on evaluation models which use behavioural objectives as the centre of the approach. Evaluation, as derived from curriculum theory and practice has, until recently, been almost exclusively concerned with 'intended learning outcomes'. It has been assumed that evaluation equals measurement and that the only measurement possible is whether or not pre-specified objectives have been achieved; this will be returned to below.

What it is most important to be clear about is that quantitative methods of the traditional kind are but one of the ways of approaching research and evaluation. And, although they can be valuable, they are often the most difficult to understand, especially by laymen.

It is possible to distinguish three main types of research which are of relevance to non-formal programmes; these are traditional research, action research and participatory or 'anthropocentric' research.

Traditional or Fundamental Research

This consists of surveys, studies concerned with particular pieces of knowledge, attitudes or practices (KAP) and other recognised social science research, either based on one or other of the social science disciplines (e.g. sociology or psychology) or of an interdisciplinary character. The latter is more common where a practical outcome to advise planners is desired (e.g. the 'Evaluation of the 1973 Mass Health Education Campaign in Tanzania'.)[2]

In traditional research the topic is usually determined by the researcher or his institution (often a university) and the researchers themselves are usually independent of the operational programme. Methodology emphasizes rigour in design (scientific objectivity is sought) and there is much reliance on questionnaires and statistical analysis. The original results are often written in difficult academic language, though there is a recent trend towards two versions of published results: one for an academic audience and one for the enlightenment of policy makers.[3] Unless this is done there is either no feedback into the operational system or that feedback is unduly delayed. Much of the early research in non-formal education was of this traditional kind.

Overviews and surveys have done much to stimulate an interest in non-formal education and to raise critical issues of a practical, economic and political nature. While the work of Philip Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed and Roy Prosser are perhaps the best known, Sheffield and Diejomaoh were the first to compile and classify the varieties of programmes and raise a number of critical issues in Africa.[4] In the United States, Michigan State University[5] and the University of Massachusetts[6] have worked on some experiences in Commonwealth nations.

One of the important secondary effects of the UNESCO/UNDP literacy programmes, and the proliferation of national programmes which resulted, was the stimulation of research into the factors which were important to success in achieving literacy. The International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods has played the leading role in cataloguing and disseminating information about this ongoing research.[7] UNESCO itself has produced an overall evaluation of their ten-year programme which reviewed some research and evaluation.[8] The International Council for Adult Education, in co-operation with the International Development Research Centre, has compiled a study of research findings from many national literacy programmes.[9]

The research on and evaluation of the use of radio and TV in various non-formal education settings has expanded quite rapidly in the past few years. As noted above, here has been evaluation of the mass campaigns in Tanzania[8] and research and evaluation of similar campaigns in Botswana.[11] In the UK studies are available on the effect of media in the literacy scheme. The use of TV through satellites has been studied in depth in India.[12] General surveys on the use of radio in educational programmes in several Commonwealth countries have been done by the specialists from the University of Manchester[13] and the International Extension College based in the United Kingdom has studied a variety of experiences in Mauritius, Ghana, Botswana, Tanzania and Lesotho.[14]

As several Conference members pointed out, traditional research does have continuing importance in non-formal education. Quantitative and qualitative methods need to be seen as complementary efforts. For example, while it would be interesting to know how the acquisition of literacy has affected people's lives, it is also important to know how many people have become literate.

However, the danger with quantitative research is sometimes its preoccupation with numbers to the neglect of humanistic aspects; however, there can also be a qualititive dimension to data collected through quantitative methods. A non-formal education programme should have a mix; a blend of qualitative and quantitative research.

While there is need for qualitative research at the field level, the need for quantitative research is probably greater at the macro-level. At the national level, consideration for provision, continuation or discontinuation of funds is guided by statistics aggregated from various projects. It is the common experience of many countries that such statistics are unreliable. Adequate measures may have to be taken to ensure reliability of the quantitative data that affect policy decisions. In some countries, such as India, there are plans to set up a management information system for collecting minimal but necessary data to help the planners and the administrators at the national level to monitor the progress of various programmes.

Quantitative research, for example in literacy programmes, is necessary for setting norms for size of class, reasons for drop-outs, or hours of instruction. At present, these crucial questions are often based on arbitrary knowledge. One suggested area for further work in quantitative research is the establishment of levels of literacy through language-specific standardized tests. Nevertheless, while there is a continuing need for the collection and analysis of quantitative data in the 'traditional' way, there are also dangers in this approach.

The evaluation of the Tanzanian mass health campaign (Mtu ni Afya) referred to above provides one illustration. The Mtu ni Afya programme was a mass campaign using radio, press, print materials and 75,000 study groups. It aimed to increase awareness of what could be done about five preventable diseases (malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery, hookworm, bilharzia) and was a rare combination of multi-media teaching and politically supported consciousness raising. There were three objectives:

(a) To increase participants' awareness and encourage group actions regarding measures which groups and individuals can take to bring about their own better health.
(b) To provide information about the symptoms and prevention of specific diseases.
(c) To encourage the maintenance of newly acquired reading skills by providing suitable written follow-up materials to those who have participated in the National Literacy Campaign.[15]

Previous experience with smaller radio learning campaigns led to the belief that a larger campaign could be used effectively to mobilize large groups of people and stimulate their learning in particular directions. In the event, an enrolment of over two million people exceeded all expectations and there were serious organizational and teaching problems as a result. However, a serious attempt was made to collect data for evaluation purposes and in particular to find out (a) the degree of attendance and participation, including the socio-economic composition of the participants, (b) to answer the question 'did the training message get through?', and (c) to measure changes in learning.

Evidence for the latter was collected mainly by finding out how certain activities had increased from before the campaign started to the immediate post-campaign period. Fourteen indicators were used including such things as water treatment, using preventive tablets against malaria, digging rubbish pits, digging wells and building latrines.

Although the coverage of the evaluation study was very small, all the indicators showed significant changes in behaviour and in some cases the improvements were dramatic. As the report indicates: 'In some parts of the country the building of latrines took on truly monumental proportions. In Dodoma district reports showed that every house in the district had its own latrine!'

It would be tempting to assume that success as measured by these indicators was a measure of the success of the radio learning campaign as a teaching exercise. However, the danger of jumping to that particular conclusion is that in this as in other quantitative evaluation studies, especially those undertaken outside formal classroom settings, there are many other hidden or not so hidden variables which have to be taken into account. For example, the 100% provision of latrines in Dodoma district is likely to have been influenced at least as much by the the massive political support given to the *activity* as from the campaign itself. 'In June during the beginning of the Mtu ni Afya campaign, all the district Tanu government officials met and agreed to what was called the 'Bihawana Resolution'. The items discussed at the meeting were the development strategies and targets for the district to achieve by various deadlines. One of the agreements was that in line with Mtu ni Afya, all people in the district should try and build a latrine by 9 December 1973 if they did not already have one... In places where latrines had been a rarity, a somewhat ecentric custom, one saw literally thousands of latrines under construction.'[16] In other words, the political will to action may have been more important than the health education programmes. Unfortunately, this kind of evaluation does not really give a measure of the relative importance of these two aspects.

Yusuf Kassam[17] makes the same kind of criticism of much literacy evaluation:

> The impact of literacy has been evaluated by investigating and measuring mostly behavioural changes related to socio-economic development. The invisible, the innermost, the more personal and qualitative effects of literacy on the people have been ignored. Such a narrow focus in literacy evaluation has been the outcome of determining what constitutes development in purely economic and technological terms. This in turn has lead us to view and design literacy 'as an overwhelmingly technical solution to problems that are only partly technical'.[18]
>
> Partly connected with the technical conception of literacy, evaluation of the impact of literacy on development has tended to rely too heavily on quantitative research methods. Such methods have invariably resulted in over-

simplifying and distorting social reality by ignoring the dynamics and complexities of the human context and the intersubjective world. Quantitative methods are often accompanied by elaborate statistical analysis for the purpose of achieving the sacred goal of scientific precision. Although the use of statistics is in some instances necessary and useful, in almost all cases of the investigation and analysis of a human and social phenomenon, alone, the statistical approach serves to silence the human voice and strangle the human context and its end-product is either a mere skeleton or a silhouette of social reality.

The use of quantitative methods can show and count the trees but they often prevent us from seeing the forest. The qualitative data in social science research in general are, by and large, overlooked and sometimes even rejected outright because they are claimed to be subjective and impressionistic. Yet, as Myrdal has analysed, the so-called 'scientific objectivity' in orthodox social science research has proved to be a myth.[19] The conventional social science research methodology has even devised certain techniques of neatly transforming qualitative data into quantitative data (a flesh and blood removing exercise, as it were). To quote UNESCO's assessment of the EWLP again, 'single-minded preoccupation with even more sophisticated quantification at least sometimes blinded EWLP evaluators to simple truths that were in plain view'.[20] In the same vein but with reference to social science research methodology as a whole, Kathleen Rockhill has argued that, 'as a science of research has developed around quantitative measure, we have sacrificed our understanding of reality to methodological rigor'.[21]

In order to illustrate the major weaknesses in literacy evaluation as outlined above, UNESCO's EWLP makes an excellent case from which concrete examples can be drawn.

In the EWLP, the socio-economic impact of literacy was evaluated by devising a long list of indicators for testing and measuring changes in the new literates' behaviour. The changes were measured with the help of interview schedules and observation checklists and the information obtained with these instruments was statistically analysed.

The various indicators of change were grouped under three main behavioural categories: insertion into the milieu, mastery of the milieu, and transformation of the milieu. The heading 'insertion into the milieu' consisted of indicators designed to measure changes in areas such as interest in further education, management of personal finances, exposure to mass media, the seeking out of technical advice, use of the three R's and participation in formal organizations. Under 'mastery of the milieu', the indicators of change were related to behaviour at work, knowledge of modern technical practices, adoption of modern practices, and conservation and reproduction of the labour force. The indicators of change in the third behavioural category of 'transformation of the milieu' were concerned with the means of production, the volume of production, cash income, income in kind and consumption of durable goods.

Irrespective of the favourable or unfavourable results obtained by EWLP through this type of evaluation, one can raise a number of fundamental questions against the adequacy and even validity of such an evaluation design. First, no attempt was made to look at the more personal and qualitative changes in the lives of the new literates—in their thinking, their feelings, their perception about themselves and their environment. The emphasis was put on measuring the quantitative changes and the areas of change were predetermined and selected by the evaluators. If it were deemed important to identify the quantitative changes—and to a certain extent the importance of quantitative changes is not totally denied—could not that be done by making the new literates themselves assess and interpret the quantitative changes?

Secondly, all the indicators selected were unavoidably stamped by the values and standards cherished by the planners and evaluators. For example, with reference to one of the areas of behavioural change, the UNESCO assessment of the EWLP had this comment to make: 'The use of "consumption of durable goods" as a criterion of "transformation of the milieu" was, to say the least, a curious projection on to poor nations of a consumer-oriented system peculiar to certain highly industrialized societies. In one EWLP country where per capita annual GNP is less than $200 this "consumption" criterion was broken down into indicators that included safety razors and wrist watches, relatively luxurious articles of individual consumption'.[22]

The indicators used to measure changes with respect to 'mastery of the milieu' focused on the essentially technical and economic aspects of mastering the milieu. The UNESCO assessment report again raised very legitimate questions: 'In acquiring this kind of mastery of the milieu, to what extent has the new literate become dependent on which external socio-economic process and forces? Has literacy enabled the new literate to know and understand these processes and forces? To come to grips with them? To have a voice in controlling them? What implications has the new literate's accession to mastery of the milieu for the fate of his or her less favoured neighbours and compatriots?'[23]

The UNESCO assessment report concludes its discussion on the evaluation methods used in its EWLP projects by admitting that the kind of evaluation design that was used 'could only reveal the short-term and most mechanistic socio-economic effects of the world programme'.[24] No other conclusion could have been more appropriate and accurate.

A study which attempts to redress the balance by shifting away the emphasis from evaluating the quantitative socio-economic effects of literacy to illuminating the more personal and qualitative impact of literacy on the development of the people, is included as one of the appendices to this chapter.

Action Research and the Feedback System

'Action Research' has been variously defined. In all cases it differs from the traditional kind by a very close interaction between researcher and operational programme—an interaction which is designed to offset and improve that programme *as it proceeds*. One definition gives action research as 'systematic study, incorporated in an operational programme, the results of which are fed back directly and immediately to the operational staff to help them to improve the effectiveness of their programmes'[25] Another definition takes this process further and speaks of an alternative role for research and evaluation trying to emerge. This alternative role 'opens up possibilities by presenting the range of effects from any change and bringing forward the attitudes of otherwise unrepresented groups... Set against the grand claims for field tested social policy, this may seem small return for the blood and sweat spent on action-research, but it could lead to more rational and more complex decision making...'[26]

This latter definition, with its emphasis on 'bringing forward the attitudes of otherwise unrepresented groups' is much more akin to the participatory research referred to below.

Action research as a feedback system is described by C. Garforth and D. Warr:[27]

> The University of Reading Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre (AERDC), with the support of the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development, has been co-operating with governments in a number of countries to incorporate action research into non-formal education and rural development and particularly with the production of educational media.
>
> A Workshop on Action Research and the Production of Communication Media was held in Udaipur, India in September 1973. This was jointly planned by the Farm Information Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the University of Reading. The workshop brought together fifty-four communicators from all regions of India and made a valuable contribution to the development of theory and methodology...
>
> Evaluation and Action Research Units or sections (EAR Units) have been established within the Extension Aids Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources in Malawi, the Agricultural Information Service in Botswana and recently on a more modest scale, within the Provincial Literature Bureau in Bo, Sierra Leone (with its concomitant adult literacy programme). Similar projects are now under discussion with the Ministries of Agriculture in Kenya and Nepal...
>
> As applied to the production of educational media, action research could be described as 'communication research' since it is concerned to help communicators to improve their communication. However it differs from most traditional communication research, which is more concerned with testing hypotheses, verifying previous research and adding to general knowledge of human communication. There is, of course, no implication, in drawing these distinctions, that 'action research' is superior to 'fundamental research'; both are needed in the field of communication and should be complementary.
>
> A part of the function of the EAR Units is 'evaluation', but action research, as EAR Units apply it, is both wider and narrower than evaluation as usually understood. It is wider in that they have the task of obtaining objective information from and about the population (their needs, problems, interests, knowledge, levels of literacy, attitudes, practices, etc.) which is a prerequisite of effective communication. For this purpose use has been made of KAP studies to discover existing knowledge, attitudes and practices in regard to a specific topic or innovation on which the media production staff are working.

This type of 'topic study' or content research to discover what the population knows, does and thinks before telling them what the technologists and communicators want them to know, do and think, is not in the usual sense evaluation, though it might be regarded as evaluating or validating the message before embodying it in media for immediate feedback. Pre-testing the effectiveness of draft media which is another important function of the EAR Units, is of course another form of evaluation. This said, once the quality of the media is improved by feedback beyond the need of continual pre-testing, the EAR Units may eventually turn to the task of 'summative' evaluation.

Why then was it decided to incorporate the EAR Units into the media production system rather than into the broader non-formal education, extension, or training systems or even into the development planning and management system? In the first place, the media production system is where the need is most obvious. Communication through media is long-distance, delayed communication, lacking the direct feedback of face-to-face communication. Indeed much money and effort is being expended throughout the world in communicating with rural people through various media, from radio broadcasts to simple pamphlets, with little knowledge of whether the messages are being received and understood let alone acted upon. What little fundamental research has been done indicates that in many cases they are not. Media producers have been somewhat cynically likened to the deaf and blind communicating with the dumb. Their communication is generally one-way and top-down. The EAR Units aim to provide the essential information and feedback which makes their communication two-way. Finally, the media production system is the point at which messages become crystallized, encoded, processed and packaged into media. It is therefore at this point that the wisdom and experience of the rural population can almost efficiently be married with the technology of the specialists into acceptable and appropriate development messages.

Action research in this sense is participatory research, in that the EAR Units are engaged in systematic listening to the rural population, attempting to elicit their knowledge, interests, needs and preferences, as well as their reactions to the development messages formulated by technologists. The technique of KAP study described in this document makes use of group discussion and individual interviews to test the acceptability and appropriateness of innovations as perceived by the rural people, for whose benefit they are intended. As the case studies indicate, popular reactions to innovations, fed back by the EARUs to the specialists who proposed them, have in several cases caused the specialists to think again. Action research is thus seen as a means not only of testing the effectiveness of media communication but also of transforming it into a two-way process, bringing about a creative synthesis of modern technology with traditional experience and treating the rural population as active participants in communication, teaching and learning rather than as passive 'target audiences'.

Case Study: Action Research in Communication, Malawi

Action research is now being applied in the production of media for non-formal education in Malawi. In 1972 an Evaluation and Action Research Unit

(EARU) was established to function as part of Extension Aids Branch (which produces films, radio programmes, etc. for Malawi's agricultural extension and rural development programmes. Extension Aids Branch was asked by the Forest Officer of the Lilongwe Land Development Scheme to produce media for a campaign to encourage farmers in a project area to supplement dwindling forest resources by planting their own trees. The first stage after this request had been officially approved was to call a meeting with the forestry specialists to discuss the topic in greater detail. The meeting, which was chaired by the Head of Extension Aids Branch, was attended by the media section leaders, a representative of the requesting agency (the Land Development Scheme) and three topic specialists including a forester from the project's field staff. Two members of the EARU were also in attendance. At this meeting the background to the request was outlined and the objectives were discussed in more detail. Fast-growing exotic trees, already tried and proved in the project area and approved by appropriate levels of management, were to be introduced in individual or communal woodlots. The target audience consisted of all farmers and their families in the project area who were not already growing trees.

Since the requesting agency believed that most people were already aware of the wood shortage, it was thought that the campaign should concentrate mainly on providing the information farmers needed to plant the recommended species. The project had already established nurseries from which seedlings could be obtained at subsidized prices. It was decided that the campaign should commence after the start of the next rainy season.

EARU then opened a 'topic file' in which all relevant details of the campaign were recorded for the benefit of the media producers. Thus the file starts with details of the requesting agency's application followed by a summary of the minutes from the first and subsequent meetings with the topic specialists and a survey of literature relating to tree growing in the project area.

Also contained in the topic file are summaries of the findings of two field visits organized by EARU in which an editor, a photographer, an artist, a film producer and a radio script writer, together with a topic specialist, visited two farmers in the project area who had already planted trees on their land. We asked these men what had led them to plant trees, what methods of planting and care they had used, what benefits had accrued and what problems they had had to face. It transpired that both farmers had forseen the impending problems of timber shortage some years before and that this foresight was now earning them substantial income from timber sales.

Amongst many other questions, we asked how one farmer had managed to protect his young trees from livestock. He explained how the major problem had been with goats and that he had fenced the trees with thorn branches and sisal but had still had to keep a vigilant guard on his woodlot. The problem was really only completely solved when a neighbour shifted his goats away from the area.

The visiting team made field notes and sketches, took photographs, and tape recorded our discussions with the farmers. This material provided useful documentary records of the visits. (Notes and photo contact prints were placed on the topic file).

On reflection we should have liked to have included in our field visits one or two farmers who had smaller enterprises and had only recently tried planting trees. We felt that the target audience might find such examples more convincing and that the problems of planting trees would be fresher in these farmers' minds. However, the visits provided a very valuable opportunity for the media producers to gather first-hand information and to see the topic through the eyes of individual farmers.

We conducted our study of knowledge, attitudes and practice in two stages. First we held discussion groups in three different areas of the project. We wanted each discussion group to represent a cross-section of local interests and since the project had already fostered the establishment of Village Planning Committees which represented farmers, women, local leaders, a teacher, a church elder and a local politician, we were able to make use of these committees for our purpose. Only one member of EARU attended each group discussion together with a local extension officer who introduced him. The aim was to establish as informal an atmosphere as possible in which the group members could raise problems and openly discuss their feelings concerning forest resources.

A number of interesting points emerged from these discussions. We learned, for instance, that several indigenous types of trees are thought by some to have advantages over the two recommended species, and that farmers who belong to a village woodlot scheme may also find it advisable to grow their own trees. Our analysis of the discussion group findings gave us a better understanding of how a number of key people in the target audience saw the topic.

In order to deepen this understanding and to provide more detailed and generalizable information about the target audience, we then conducted a series of individual interviews with a random sample of some 250 heads of households.

This survey yielded a large amount of information concerning, for instance, the respondents' awareness of the wood shortage problem and how they obtained firewood and construction timber. We found that our target audience consisted of about two in every three farmers who, while mostly aware of the increasingly urgent need to plant trees, did not necessarily feel they could solve the problem themselves. A significant number of respondents did not realize that only a small amount of land can provide sufficient timber for a family's needs and that a woodlot can begin to make a return after only three to four years. Many farmers were not aware that seedlings are provided nearby at highly subsidized prices.

The field work for this study took eleven days to complete. During the analysis we were able to make use of a computer to print tables of data and to make certain statistical comparisons. We now feel that there is little to be gained by using the computer in this type of action research. Apart from the expense involved, the need for special skills such as data punching and the dependence on terminal facilities, we found the system surprisingly inflexible. In many cases the questions we asked in our interviews were genuinely open ones and the respones could not be predicted and pre-coded. Such responses had to be analysed by hand, yet to exclude them from the study would have resulted in the loss of some of the most interesting information.

We have since experimented with a simple punched card system which has proved very promising. Information is recorded on A4 sized cards in the field and then transferred, back in the office, by hand-punching the coded data into the edges of the same cards. The cards can then be sorted by 'needle', making both the counting and cross-correlation of responses a simple and rapid mechanical operation.

The KAP study analysis took longer than we would have liked, mainly because of our inefficient use of the computer, and it was almost three weeks before we had completed the work and written up a summary of the findings together with our conclusions and suggestions. In subsequent studies we have succeeded in reducing the time, an important point, since undue delays could effect the whole media production process when schedules are tight, and this would obviously be counter-productive.

In the KAP Study Report, we summarized the information which would help the media producers to empathize effectively with their target audience. We confirmed, for instance, that nearly everyone was aware of the wood shortage problem, but that few farmers realized that they themselves could effect a solution. We described the gaps in knowledge which the campaign would have to fill (e.g. where to get seedlings, at what spacing to plant them, how to protect young trees). We identified the widely encountered attitudes (e.g. to the recommended species, to village woodlot schemes, to the goat problem) which the campaign would have to change to achieve its objectives. We reported on the education and (later) literacy levels of the target audience and its probable implications for message comprehension.

This report was circulated to the media producers and a planning committee meeting was called. At this meeting the EARU summarized the work done on the topic and presented the results to the media producers. The committee then drew up a production schedule which entailed confirming the media and messages to be used, appointing a production team, deciding on the timing of the campaign, and establishing deadlines. A three-phase, multi-media campaign was planned using a series of posters, leaflets, puppet shows and films to be supported by the project's own field extension staff.

In retrospect we believe more time should have been taken over this crucial stage. We had written up our findings throughout the topic research stage in the topic file and this had been circulated at intervals to the media producers. We had also duplicated copies of the overall summary, conclusions and suggestions and distributed these to all concerned. However, we could have allowed more time for the producers to assimilate and discuss these results, and this might have led to better use being made of them.

To date, pre-tests have been carried out on a poster and a puppet show. For the poster pre-test we sent draft copies to the project headquarters and asked for them to be distributed through the normal channels. Two weeks later we selected local extension officers, found out where the posters had been displayed, and visited a number of randomly selected villages at or near these display points. Villagers were then selected at random and interviewed to find out whether they had seen the poster, how much of its message content they could remember, and then (by showing the respondent a hand-held copy of the poster) which parts if any were incorrectly understood and why this might be.

Our first finding was that relatively few of the respondents had seen the posters displayed in their area. This raised a number of questions about distribution and display which were fed back to the project staff who are now considering the possibility of substituting smaller, more cheaply produced hand-outs distributed through the extension service to selected households. We also found that the pictures used in the poster were much more effective in conveying its messages than the words and that one picture in particular, a line drawing, had significantly more impact on our test audience than the two photographs accompanying it. We were able to point out detailed aspects of all three pictures which were not clearly understood or de-coded and to suggest ways of improving them.

This information, based on a sample of 141 respondents from different parts of the project area, was summarized, placed on the topic file and discussed in a meeting of the media producers responsible for designing and printing the poster. Revision of the pre-test version had not, at the time of writing, been started.

The puppet show pre-test required a different approach. The plays are performed from the back of a specially equipped landrover. The script is recorded and then played back through the vehicle's loud speaker system, while an operator matches the puppets' movements to the recorded sound. The draft script was therefore recorded in the normal way and the show was performed in a number of randomly selected villages. An observation schedule was used to record audience reactions to the different parts of the play during its performance and a randomly selected sample of the audience was interviewed afterwards.

We found that most people enjoyed the show and realized that its main theme was that more farmers should plant their own trees. However, some of the more detailed messages (for example, where farmers could obtain information and advice on tree growing) were not getting across to a significant proportion of the test audience. This could be improved by greater emphasis of the points concerned—especially by linking them more intimately with the play's characters and plot which the audiences had appreciated. Our observation schedules also indicated that there were some signs of inattention and boredom during the longer speeches and we suggested breaking up the dialogue into shorter segments and enlivening the play where possible with action and humour.

The script writer, puppet operator, and field assistant (who introduces the plays in each village) were very receptive to our suggestions, and parts of the original version were completely changed in response to the action research findings. Informal reports from the field suggest that the revised play was a success and enjoyed a long run.

Not all our feedback has been this well received however, and as the woodlot campaign continues (with further media being pre-tested as they become available) and as we work on more projects, our main concern is to improve our service to the media producers. This is no easy matter. From the media producers' point of view the EARU's presence can appear to be a mixed blessing. With a heavy work-load geared to producing material for regular media commitments, there is little time available to absorb the large amounts of feedback. Most producers now appreciate the need for information about their target audiences. There remains, however, a reluctance by some to accept that a few days of concentrated fieldwork and statistical manipulation can really be a useful and reliable substitute for a seasoned communicator's experience and intuition.

As the media producers themselves know only too well, adoption of innovations is rarely a rapid process and we are not discouraged that EARU's services are not as yet being used to the fullest extent. The signs are that the situation is improving steadily with each new media production project. Recently the media producers agreed that a member of the EARU should be appointed to each production team so that he can contribute during the actual drafting and revising of the media for a given topic. This EARU member has at his finger-tips the results of the topic research which he can raise at appropriate times during the production process. He can also find out quickly if further information about the topic or target audiences is needed, and can work closely with the other members of the production team in designing pre-tests of drafted media. This innovation should go a long way towards ensuring both that the EARU provides relevant information and that the media producers make the best use of it.

Time is always scarce in action research geared to media production, and this is an important methodological constraint. The samples on which we base our findings may have to be smaller and more severely stratified than would be permitted in basic long-term research projects, and 'call-backs' to absent respondents are not always possible. Within these limitations however, we conduct our research as rigorously as possible and are well aware that our own credibility with the media producers depends on recognizing the element of bias in our results and keeping it to an absolute minimum.

The collection of data poses three main questions: Are we looking for the right information? Are we wording our questions precisely enough to obtain this information? and Are we correctly recording genuine answers from our respondents?

As we gain experience we are able to deal more adequately with the first question. Certainly the use of discussion groups to provide guidelines for preparing questionnaires and interview schedules has been a great help. In the future we hope also to use more informal interviews with farmers and field extension staff to help us to ensure that our KAP Study interview questions are relevant. Working closely with the media producers during the planning stages of a KAP study or pre-test is of course essential and we hope to get increasing help from this partnership as the producers discover by experience the types of information most useful to them.

The precise wording of questions for interviews is, we have found, much more difficult than it might seem. Even an apparently straightforward question like 'How much land do you farm?' can be beset by complex issues relating to land ownership, cultural practices, family structure and the respondents' concept of area and how it can be measured. The criteria for a 'good' question are demanding and often incompatible. It is no easy task to frame a question so that it is clear, unambiguous, unthreatening, and will yield accurate and useful information in an easily recorded form. We spend considerable time on this and we also build into the interview schedules provision for feedback which helps us to identify where questions have given some difficulty and which questioning strategies are the most suitable.

Having decided on our exact wording, we translate the questions into the national African language, Chichewa. Here again there is room for imprecision, and we take the precaution of recruiting colleagues to translate the questions back into English so that we can ensure that the meanings are not drastically changed. The final Chichewa versions are printed on the interview schedules, and interviewers are instructed to read out the questions exactly as they have been written.

The accuracy of a respondent's answers can never be guaranteed even if the questions have been correctly understood. There is a tendency, arising from the very best motives of politeness and respect, for respondents to give answers which reflect a desire to please the questioner more than a concern for accuracy. This problem can be alleviated by taking care when planning the types of questions in an interview and the way in which they are to be asked. We also take the trouble to approach the respondents through the correct channels and to explain the purpose of our research before interviewing begins.

The accuracy with which responses are recorded, and hence the reliability of our action research, depends ultimately on the skill of each interviewer. Our team of six interviewers started with two years' secondary school education but no interviewing experience. We therefore organized a full-time induction course followed by supervised practical work before launching them on any major action research studies. Each study is preceded by a briefing session in which we explain the background and aims of the exercise. We then go through each question and how its responses should be recorded. Post-mortems are held after the study, and since the interviewers help in the initial processing and tabulation of the field data they are able to learn at first hand the consequences of inaccurate fieldwork.

Participatory or Anthropocentric Research

Budd Hall begins his paper[28] with a quotation which illustrates one side of the situation:

> Here I stand, my name is Jowett
> There's no knowledge but I know it.
> I am the Master of this college
> And what I don't know isn't knowledge*

He continues:

> There are of course different trends which might have been identified. The trend towards democratization has been chosen for detailed examination because of its particular importance to those whose primary concern is the means by which non-formal education can better serve the needs of the poor and exploited majority. It represents an important force for increasing the chance that research will serve those whom it is intended to serve. It should be noted that the identification of a trend does not imply that the majority of research reflects this tendency, but some positive tendencies are visible.
>
> We are all too aware of the volumes of research in all fields, non-formal education included, which serve no purpose at all except the professional

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*Attributed to Professor B. Jowett, former Master of Balliol.

> interest of the researchers. We are also aware of many cases when research is done by various institutions in order to take decisions for people who are not allowed to make decisions about their own lives. Our record as researchers is not a proud one. It is important that analysis and creativity in seeking solutions be centred amongst those who need it most.
>
> If research is more democratic, both in the way it is done and as regards the people with whom interaction occurs, it is likely that there will be better links between policy and practice and between research and action. By having more involvement of those people who experience on a day-to-day basis the reality of the problem concerned, it is more likely that the research will reflect that reality. In addition much of our understanding about the formation of knowledge suggests that it is only through the interaction of theory and practice that truth in the more general sense is discovered.[29]

The idea of participatory research links closely with trends towards popular participation in programme planning mentioned in Chapter 3 (page 82); indeed, the one merges into the other. Both are attempts to 'democratize' non-formal education at all stages from planning to evaluation. Such democratization involves a belief that unschooled villagers may often themselves hold the answer to problems. Budd Hall writes persuasively about this trend towards democratization:

> In terms of the volume of research, the numbers of persons engaged in research, and funds expended on research, the balance is still tipped heavily towards the richer nations and the international agencies. There is, however, a quite general agreement that research really should be done by persons actually living and working in the countries where the education is taking place. The continuing delay in turning this task over completely is often said to be due to lack of appropriately trained local researchers. Through the institutional push of the organizations like the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth Secretariat with their emphasis on 'TCDC' (Technical Co-operation amongst Developing Countries), the International Development Research Centre in Canada, and SAREC (Swedish Research Agency in Developing Countries) and in response to the political arguments in Third World countries, a growing emphasis has been placed on financial support to Third World researchers and research institutions.
>
> Related to, but lagging somewhat farther behind the question of the location of research, is the question of who actually does the work. The first stage in the democratization of research is to shift it to the place in question. The second stage is having someone from that country in control of the work. There is a general agreement and a visible tendency towards consolidating this second stage. More and more research in non-formal education is being done by the men and women in the country concerned.
>
> The need for evaluation of results in the various literacy efforts associated with the UNESCO/UNDP literacy programme and the many national efforts which have developed at the same time, have meant that many persons who did not have formal training in research or evaluation were recruited to work in research and evaluation units. In most cases it has been found that, after some experience, these untrained individuals have proved to be perfectly

satisfactory. In some cases these persons have proved to be much better than their colleagues with formal qualifications, especially in terms of working with local people or explaining why a certain set of statistics has turned up.

Another way in which untrained individuals have gained experience and in a few places permanent status as researchers has been through the recruitment and training of the research assistant. It has been a common practice for years in most Third World countries for expatriate researchers to make use of local research assistants to do the actual interviewing, as the expatriates do not usually have the language necessary to actually talk with local people. As anyone will tell you who has worked either as a research assistant or with one, these people very often have a better idea about the research results than the formal researchers.

Participatory research and related approaches, such as action research and militant research, have emphasized the importance of involving those persons whom the research is intended to benefit in the research process itself, from the identification of the problem to the analysis and interpretation of the results.

Examples of this approach can be found in several of the non-formal education experiences in Commonwealth countries such as Botswana (evaluation of a co-operative weaving project); Kenya (village socio-economic analysis as the basis for literacy programmes); Tanzania (analysis of grain storage problems for construction of storage silos, evaluation of literacy programmes, analysis of music in strengthening and transforming culture); Canada (analysis of water usage and disposal—community involvement and health issues in an isolated Indian community in Northern Ontario, development of curriculum for English teaching in the workplace, analysis of housing problems in a working-class residential neighbourhood), England (evaluation of the effects of media in the English literacy campaign, analysis of learning needs in an urban working class housing estate); and India (planning education for poor industrial workers in New Delhi, education of literacy programmes in Udaipur, development of women's clubs in Madras).

Perhaps one of the most dramatic shifts in research is the realization that research methods need not be limited to the paper and pencil styles that are most common. The involvement of non-literate populations in analysis has led to the application of a wide variety of other methods for group or collective analysis. Some of the methods which are now being used include (a) drawings—either drawn or interpreted collectively (or both); (b) still photographs—used similarly to drawings as codifications for in-depth analysis; (c) people's theatre—when the community itself analyses structural relationships and portrays them in dramatic form; (d) song—collectively written or analysed; (e) community meetings/dialogues; (f) development of community self portraits; and (g) videotape recordings. The focus on methodological aspects is growing rapidly. This does not, of course, invalidate methods which we have traditionally been using in research but it has both pushed us to re-examine our methods for collective analysis and opened up the possibility for using a large number of methods which previously would not have been considered possible.

While it is quite difficult to discuss this point in abstract, it is fair to say that in general a research process which is truly democratic will take longer than the quick one-off surveys with which we are more familiar. It takes time to organize meetings, to explain objectives to different groups, discuss interim findings, develop the analysis and discuss subsequent action. The balance of time spent in the village or with the people compared to time spent in an office is altered very much. This has obvious implications for language, for the type of person hired to do the work, for costs and for the necessity of integrating the research process into other ongoing activities and actions. The counter arguments of course are that an effective process is worth the time taken and that in the long run the time taken may even be less because the research process combines an educational and an action phase.

This is, of course, one of the great strengths of participatory research. It is not a remote or abstract process but an integral part of learning in non-formal education. Distinctions between research and learning—and between both of these and action—are deliberately blurred.

Three characteristics are usually ascribed to participatory research; it is at the same time an *approach* to social investigation, an *educational* process and a means of taking *action*. This combination of characteristics has caused some difficulties in the academic world where reality has been divided into separate disciplines and fields of work. For, as Budd Hall says: 'When research involves a group of people in a common analysis and search for meaning it is the same as learning. There is no problem in the workplace or the community where artificial separations have little meaning, but it does present some difficulties for both researchers and administrators who are trying to find where this kind of work fits into the official structure. In one case, valuable participatory research programmes have been put aside because the two administrative offices concerned could not decide how to fund the work. The research agency said that what was being proposed was not research and so it could not support the work. The educational agency said it was not education, so they could not support it either. To the people concerned it didn't matter what it was called, but they were still delayed.'

The Political Implications of Participatory Approaches

To some researchers, 'democratization' and 'liberation' are equated with an overtly political role for the researcher; only then, it is argued, can the researcher identify with a given community and encourage the people to action. Whether or not one accepts this view, it is clear that much necessary research will have political implications—the mere premise that non-formal education is designed mainly to help the poor ensures that this is so.

As Budd Hall points out,[30] there are areas of knowledge which are beyond the grasp of ordinary villagers unless brought to them by the educator or other outside person. For example, 'if the cost of fertilizer is controlled by transnational corporations outside the village in some other country, then any analysis which involves fertilizer costs and usages will need to have some information about the ownership and price policies of the external producers and the relationship of the external producers to national or local suppliers'.

Budd Hall goes on to argue that:

> The analysis of local problems must be linked to larger structural issues and the total analysis shared with those at the local level. In this way both the overall analysis is improved and the knowledge becomes a product which is jointly owned and produced.
>
> Concepts of social class and the relationships of various classes to the dominant mode of production are central to the process of understanding the effects of various educational programmes and the place which varying programmes hold within the overall socio-economic structure. While this concept has not played a prominent role in non-formal education research to date, our concern which for the rights of the poor is making the political-economic viewpoint more common. If democracy implies involving the classes which have been excluded, then a class framework of analysis is useful.
>
> More sophisticated and detailed work in the understanding of community class structures is needed. In an era when community participation is urged in every action and policy, we need to know more about the class structures within villages. We need to know more about the ways in which rich peasants maintain control and about ways to engage those in the village who are not as well off. How can non-formal education stimulate action in the village? It is not enough to say simply that the community should participate in the research process. How is it possible to assure that the research process serves those who need it most?

For every researcher in such communities there is a need to understand the constraints and the limitations of the socio-political environment within which the research activity is taking place. In the democratic process of research the identification of the researcher with the disadvantaged implies a conflict with the existing power structure. A critical issue for the researcher is to determine the kind of participation that is possible and the extent of it. Ideally, the demand for the democratic form of research should arise from within the community itself, for it is the community that is best aware of the freedom of choice that is available within the prevailing socio-political framework.

As the report of the Delhi Conference says:

> The democratic researcher has to understand the constraints and limitations of the socio-political environment in which he/she works. The identification of the researcher with the disadvantaged may imply conflict with the existing power structure. In such cases the researcher must have a clear understanding of the kind of participation he/she can encourage, and the political implications. Ideally, the demand for democratic research should come from the community itself, as it is the community that has the best understanding of its freedom of choice within the prevailing socio-political framework.

From a professional viewpoint the democratic researcher typically works in a social system that believes research is value free and neutral. But every researcher has his/her own convictions that influence his/her approach to research. Thus, one of the challenges he/she has to cope with is to create a new professional approach that acknowledges that research is not a neutral activity.

Wherever possible research workers should be recruited from the local community and trained in special skills. A frequently expressed concern that these workers may use their skills to the disadvantage of the people with whom they are working can be allayed by building in the community an organizational structure that protects it against undue influence.

Communication of Research Findings

The problem of *using* the results of research has affected all areas of education in recent years. The reputation of research reports as dull, abstruse and difficult to read has meant on many occasions that they have remained largely unread and therefore of negligible value. Clearly this must not be allowed to happen in non-formal education.

In examining this issue of communication, the report of the Delhi Conference notes that the beneficiaries of research and evaluation are most frequently:

> institutions rather than the people 'researched'. One reason for this is the practical and financial difficulty of disseminating research results. Another is language (translation) difficulties. A third is the traditional researcher's view that research results are for personal professional advancement, or for satisfying funding agencies that something has been done, or for meeting the needs of governments or institutions rather than those of the 'researched'.
>
> Certain kinds of research results (e.g. academic and macroquantitative studies undertaken by universities or government institutions) are usually not appropriate for dissemination at grass-roots level though there is sometimes a case for distilling practical points and communicating them in simple language. On the other hand, some studies undertaken by university departments of adult education, have practical utility. Such studies should be reported in a manner which can be readily understood.

Two reasons given by delegates at the Conference for some research (or evaluation) reports remaining unread, and consequently not acted upon, were: (a) bad writing (e.g. no logical order, no summary of recommendations), and (b) bad publicity (e.g. put in the post with nothing more than a compliments slip). So as to prevent research results from being wasted, the following principles were recommended:

(a) Where appropriate, measures should be taken to ensure that the results should reach those 'researched'.

(b) Care should be taken to make the reports clear, readable, and understandable to decision makers.

(c) The researcher should do everything possible to spell out the policy and operational implications of his research.

Future Activities

Communication of findings and coping with the political implications are two of the areas where continuing discussion of research strategies is needed. The country papers submitted to the Conference reveal that a number of member states have research components either in projects or organizations. It is also known that there are a number of networks in the Commonwealth, both formal and informal, by which research findings are exchanged. It was for these reasons that some members of the Conference suggested the establishment of a Commonwealth Association for research and evaluation in non-formal education. It was envisaged that the Association might fulfil a number of useful functions, including (a) assisting in the exchange of digests of information about research projects undertaken or planned, especially those aiming to identify solutions to common problems; (b) promoting a programme for exchange visits of Commonwealth non-formal education researchers to each others' countries to study research projects relating to non-formal education in development (in particular those using participatory research methods which are best experienced rather than described); (c) promoting and supporting a series of training programmes/workshops/seminars throughout Commonwealth countries to facilitate the sharing of professional experience and ideas; (d) trying to find means of encouraging decision-makers to make more use of research and evaluation findings in non-formal education; and (e) serving as an enquiry point for information concerning the work of Commonwealth professional researchers in non-formal education.

It is hoped that this proposal will now be given further study.

APPENDICES

1. The Anthropocentric Approach and the Dialogue Method in Literacy Evaluation (Yusuf Kassam)

The problems of illiteracy and of illiterates themselves have usually been conceived and examined from the literates' viewpoint and values. It is we the literate who make assumptions about the nature of the problem of illiteracy. It is we the literate who have drawn up, according to our own preconceived notions and class biases, a list of possible changes and effects that can be brought about by literacy and then we have gone about verifying those anticipated changes. We have made little effort in seeking the views and perceptions of the new literates themselves by involving them actively in the evaluation process. We have made little effort to understand the illiterates on their own terms, and where some pains have been taken to do so, regrettably they have been accompanied by paternalistic tendencies. Some of us have been a little more imaginative by trying to put ourselves in the shoes of the new literate, thereby hoping to obtain a more intimate knowledge of his world, but real intimacy is only possible if the figurative act of being in someone else's shoes begins to pinch us literally. It is we who in our élitist positions of comfort, power and privilege preach to the illiterates *what we think* are the 'modernizing' and socio-economic benefits of literacy, and therefore, it is little wonder to hear the much quoted but legitimate response from them, 'After we become literate, will you give us a job in your offices?'...

In the light of more liberating, humanistic and man-centred goals of literacy, and in view of the fact that the process of adult literacy is an intensely emotional experience, I believe that by far the most significant and profound impact of literacy on people can be found in the personal and qualitative realm of their own thinking, their own feelings, their own vision and their own perceptions about the changes that may have occurred in themselves and their situation.

The investigation of such personal and qualitative changes can best be illuminated by adopting an 'anthropocentric' approach which involves the *interpretation of reality exclusively in terms of human values and human experience*. In the context of this study, the impact of literacy is portrayed exclusively in terms of the participants' own perceptions and interpretations of the literacy process as freely discussed by themselves rather than through the use of sets of selective criteria, assumptions and prefabricated research instruments of the educators and evaluators. The anthropocentric approach is qualitative and humanistic; epistemologically, it helps to give a more accurate reflection of social reality, for who would know best where and how the shoe pinches if not the wearer himself? Having recognized the authentic source from which social reality can be accurately explained, the next question to ask is: What are the best methods of tapping this source?

I believe that one of the most reliable and sensitive methods of feeling the pulse of a human activity such as the literacy process is to let the participants evaluate themselves by having a dialogue with them on an individual basis. The dialogue is intended to elicit comment on how they perceive themselves in their transformed state of being the new literate members of their community and nation. It is taped, and a verbatim transcription is produced. Apart from a little necessary editing, the transcription is not tampered with in any other way, for what is crucial in such an exercise is not only to record the participants' own thoughts and feelings but to do so in their own words and idiom and in their own style of expression. The way they themselves understand and perceive reality in their own words is what Freire calls 'a decodification of a codified existential situation'.[31] Having transcribed all the dialogues, one can then analyse them and highlight the main theme discussed. But such an analysis should be conceived of as only a *supplementary* method of making a *summary* description of social reality which has already been authentically described in elaborate detail by the people themselves.

Dialogue facilitates the portrayal of the uniqueness of individual perception and experiences. In addition, whereas the information obtained by using the conventional instruments such as questionnaires, interview schedules, checklists and the like superimposes the description of empirical social reality on to a predetermined framework of that reality, genuine dialogue eliminates most of the preconceived elements of the conventional research process and makes it possible for social reality to be described on a 'clean slate', as it were. The dialogue helps to capture and portray the dynamics of the social interactions with the milieu in which the effects of the literacy process are felt and experienced. To assess the literacy achievement of the people as a merely technical issue based predominantly on quantitative and statistical methods 'carries the underlying assumptions that complex qualities of human experience can be adequately registered in statistical stretches and meaningfully compared in numerical tables'.[32] The dialogue method is designed not to quantify, verify or predict the personal and qualitative impact of literacy but rather to 'illuminate' it.[33] Assessing literacy achievement without paying full attention to the complexities and dynamics of the social reality is not different from observing and studying the responses of animals to a given stimulus by isolating them from their habitat and putting them in laboratories. The 'agricultural-botany model' of research, to use Parlett's coinage which has so commonly been used in evaluating the impact of educational programmes, can only produce a superficial and mechanistic, if not distorted, description of social reality.

While the dialogue method makes it possible to get a more accurate glimpse of the total human context with all its complexities and social interactions, the very *process* of dialogue serves a number of other important purposes. Through dialogue the people participate actively in the research process whereas the conventional methods and instruments treat those who are objects of research as mere sources of information (as mere cogs in the machine), a process which serves to further alienate the oppressed. Through dialogue the participants of the literacy process are treated as the central subjects and actors in that process and they are given the opportunity to 'name the world'. The dialogue helps to mobilize the human creative potential, stimulates a greater degree of self-awareness, and generates interest and motivation. In short, the dialogue is a liberating experience.

The anthropocentric approach based on dialogue can be placed under the umbrella of qualitative methodology. As defined by Filstead, qualitative methodology consists of:

> those research strategies, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, total participation in the activity being investigated, field work, etc. which allow the researcher to obtain first-hand knowledge about the empirical social world in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to 'get close to the data' thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself—rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured and highly quantified techniques that pigeon-hole the empirical social world into the operational definitions that the researcher has constructed.[34]

Furthermore, to quote Kathleen Rockhill:

> Qualitative research allows us to preserve individual uniqueness, the integrity of individual meanings, and to view the individual as interacting

> with a complex reality. This is critical. As an applied field, ultimately in adult education we work with individual people, institutions and communities not abstractions and aggregates.[35]

The anthropocentric approach is in some ways similar to what has been termed as a 'phenomenological' approach in the discipline of sociology. This approach is based on the belief that 'each person constructs his own social reality... The problem therefore becomes not to understand a given reality by the methods of natural sciences, but to elucidate the social system as an outcome of what people already understand'.[36]

The anthropocentric approach is also similar in some ways to the rapidly emerging conceptualization and practice of participatory approach in research. Hall argues that:

> the research process should be based on a system of discussion, investigation and analysis in which the researched are as much part of the process as the researcher. Theories are neither developed beforehand to be tested nor drawn by the researcher from his or her involvement with reality. Reality is described by the process through which a community develops its own theories and solutions about itself.[37]

The participatory approach is also similar to the anthropocentric approach in that they are both man-centred and one of their objectives is to liberate the human creative potential through a process of dialogue. Finally, the design and some of the purposes of the research outlined below are closely modelled on participatory research in that the community or population ought to benefit directly from both the *results* of the research as well as from the *process* itself.

Finally, the anthropocentric and dialogical approach matches some of the threads of the methodology of the 'militant observer' which addresses itself primarily to the oppressed and which through action and research is designed 'to bring about an understanding of the process of change by the group which is experiencing that process, thus enabling the group to re-define and to deepen the scope of their action together'.[38]

Let me now refer to one study which was carried out in Tanzania following the anthropocentric approach based on dialogue. This study had four broad objectives:

(a) To capture and portray the dynamics of the human and social context through which the effects of the literacy process are felt and experienced.
(b) To illuminate the impact of literacy on the development of the people in relation to the more qualitative, humanistic and liberating goals and objectives of literacy.
(c) To let the new literates themselves 'name the world' with respect to the changes in themselves and in their environment brought about by literacy.
(d) To publish the dialogues into a reader in Kiswahili in order: (i) to promote a feeling of solidarity among the community of new literates in their struggle against illiteracy by giving them the opportunity to read and share their colleagues' self-evaluated experiences and changes in relation to the impact of literacy on their lives; and (ii) to make a small contribution

> towards meeting the present great need to provide literacy follow-up reading materials in Tanzania.

The dialogues were conducted with a total of eight new literates, five men and three women, from four different regions of Tanzania. All the dialogues were conducted in Kiswahili, the national language, and the themes that were discussed in the dialogues were as follows: (a) general self perceptions about being literate; (b) status in the family, neighbourhood, work place and the community at large; (c) economic well-being; (d) relationships with family members, fellow-workers, friends, neighbours and citizens; (e) motivation for literacy; (f) views about education and knowledge; (g) practical uses of literacy skills in daily life; and (h) further and continuing education.

The dialogue on each of these themes was stimulated and sustained by asking certain non-directed questions, and the number, nature and phrasing of these questions were influenced spontaneously by the specific nature, circumstances and progress of each dialogue. In other words, a conscientious attempt was made to promote and develop the dialogue as naturally, openly and flexibly as possible in order to allow the participants to talk and discuss as much as they wished about whatever aspects of the themes concerned them most. The various questions that were asked to stimulate the dialogue were non-directed questions in order to prevent the reality from becoming coloured by the researcher's expectations, assumptions and values. For example, under the theme of 'general self-perceptions about being literate', a directed question such as 'Do you feel liberated and self-confident as a result of becoming literate?' was not asked. Instead, a variety of non-directed questions were asked, such as 'What does it feel like to have become literate?' 'What is the significance of literacy in your life'? 'Now that you are literate, how do you perceive yourself and your environment'?' What changes, good or bad, have been brought about by literacy in your life?' and so on. In using these non-directed questions on the basis of a 'clean slate' approach, the main purpose was to obtain an accurate and authentic description of social reality.

The dialogues were conducted in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. Although the purposes of taping the dialogue was clearly explained to the participants, the small cassette tape-recorder and its microphone were placed and operated as inconspicuously as possible.

These themes were not necessarily discussed in the order in which they are listed above. In some cases one or two themes were not discussed at all in response to the peculiar circumstances of each situation, while in other cases discussion of one theme incorporated a discussion of one or two other interrelated themes at the same time. In transcribing the dialogue, therefore, this overlap of themes was not discussed and re-arranged under the relevant theme heading. Also the format in which the dialogues were transcribed was not uniform. In fact, uniformity was neither possible nor desirable, for it would have destroyed the flow and contaminated the uniqueness of each dialogue until it degenerated into some sort of 'data tabulation' exercise. The most important consideration in transcribing the dialogues and translating them from Kiswahili into English was to record the participants' thoughts and feelings in their *own words and idiom and their own style of expression*. To tamper with the verbatim dialogues in any other way apart from a little bit of editing would have distorted the picture of social reality that the new literates were portraying.

One of the dialogues is appended to this paper to serve as an example. It is clear from the eight dialogues conducted that literacy has made a powerful and positive impact on the qualitative aspects of people's development. All the sentiments, perceptions and feelings which have so forcefully and eloquently been expressed by the new literates indicate dramatic changes in the quality of their lives. By and large, they have got rid of their former state of marginality, alienation and fear, they feel more self-confident, they have become politically self-conscious, they have regained their human dignity, they cannot be exploited and humiliated in the same way as before, they have become self-reliant, they feel like active subjects rather than manipulable objects, and they have begun to demystify social reality. I believe that it is these kinds of *qualitative* changes brought about by literacy that make a much more significant and profound impact on the development of the people rather than the quantitative changes alone.

Dialogue

The following dialogue was recorded with Ndugu Yusufu Selemani, a worker at The Tanganyika Coffee Curing Co. Ltd., Moshi. He was 38 years old, married, and had five children, all at school in Moshi.

> Ever since I was employed to work at this factory, I used to face burdensome problems. Because of my illiteracy, whenever I was asked to carry a bag of coffee, my supervisor had to accompany me to the store to make sure that I deposited a bag of coffee of a particular grade in the appropriate storage places. The quality of coffee has many grades, as for example, AA, A, PB, AF, C, etc. and each grade of coffee throughout its various stages of processing must be stored in the appropriate places which are all numbered—12M, 24C, 15K, and so on. Now that I have become literate, I can do this job all myself without being physically escorted by my supervisor. How can you as an adult and a father of children tolerate being treated like a child—'go there, take this, bring that'—all under close physical supervision? But now I can even detect mistakes made in the storage exercise and point them out to the supervisor.
>
> I can now read all the letters I receive from my relatives and friends and I am able to reply to them. I can without anyone's help send some money home. Previously I had to beg and implore someone to help me write letters for me to my wife and send her some money whenever she went home. In that process, all my secrets were exposed. It is also possible that the person who writes letters for you to your wife can write a lot of rubbish and you do not know about it.
>
> Literacy has opened our eyes and it has done us such a lot of good that I now believe that if anyone refuses to become literate he should be dismissed from his job. I now realize that when I was illiterate I was made to work like a plough being dragged by a cow and that was a humiliating experience. I was like a blind man being led by one who can see.
>
> The benefits of literacy are innumerable. Now that I have become literate I feel that before I was carrying a small lantern but now a pressure

lamp has been brought to me. I can now see much better. I can now hold a pen and sign my own name instead of using fingerprint. For all this I am very grateful. If a man is not grateful for such great changes as a result of literacy, I do not know for what else can one be more thankful. The nation has remembered that some of its citizens are backward and has consequently tried to help us to move forward. If someone responds by saying, 'Leave me alone, I will reach there myself', he is mistaken. If a literacy teacher holds your hand and offers to help you to jump over the river you should really be thankful.

Before the literacy classes were started at our factory by the new Tanzania management, the old foreign management did nothing to alleviate our oppressed state. They maintained our ignorance and it seems to me that they actually took delight in pushing us about like a plough. The truth is that if I start talking about my former oppression and wretchedness, I will not be able to finish talking about it even if I spend a whole day. In short, when I started to work in this factory one of my legs was inside the factory and the other was outside because your employment could be terminated in a most arbitrary fashion and there would be no law to protect or defend you. The manager was the Lord Justice himself: he decided and there was no one who could question him. You could not fight for your rights—if you are told to go, you go. But now I can fight for my rights, and before I take any personal initiative of which I am capable, there is the Party branch at the factory as well as the NUTA branch, both of which are very alert and watchful and which can stand up on your behalf. This is one of the fruits of independence. I am thankful to God. No one can now flout your rights and get away with it. It is not worth looking backwards any more, life was very tough for us. Now you cannot be dismissed arbitrarily. If a worker makes a mistake, he is advised accordingly. Formerly, if I had felt tired of my job and had decided to quit, nobody would have cared. But now you are counselled by the various organs at the factory. You feel respected and appreciated. Unlike before, the Manager cannot just pass by you without greeting you and sometimes even talking with you. This country now is full of laws. I now feel a more complete human being. It is like being born again and all your rights are explained to you.

As a result of literacy I now understand the whys and wherefores of things and because I understand I can now maintain my own self-respect. If I see a signpost which says 'Do not Pass', I stop and thereby preserve my self-respect. If I do not obey the instructions I will lose my self-respect. People realize that yesterday and the day before this man used to get his letters written but now he can write them himself. I go to the post office myself and ask for air mail postage stamps. Formerly, when I sent some money home in a registered envelope, I used to ask the postal clerk to give me that 'big envelope'. I did not understand what a registered envelope meant. When the clerk weighed my letter, I used to ask him why he was weighing my letter and not those of other people who dropped their letters straight into the mailbox. But now I understand everything. I know the difference between an ordinary letter and a registered one. People around you notice these changes and they consequently respect you. They say, 'He knows'. I must add that now we have been told through our functional literacy programmes that it is much safer to send your money by a money order instead of hard cash in a registered envelope. Before, we did not know about these things.

We thank God for being given this opportunity to read and write. Our knowledge and horizons have now expanded. We are now fascinated to learn so many things about which we did not know anything. Literacy has broadened my mind, for example through literacy primers I have now learned the best methods of growing maize on my little plot of land. When I go to an agricultural station and buy orange seedlings, for example, I ask them to tell me the details of how to transplant them on my little shamba. The agricultural officer explains everything to me to my satisfaction. In the old days I felt that such information, instruction and techniques were professed and used by Europeans only. The European was never prepared to educate you—he would only order you about. This is the meaning of liberation. We feel liberated. The rope that had been twisted around you has been untied and so naturally you feel happy.

My other colleagues in the factory who have also become literate have now become more helpful and co-operative. When I face any problems, whether at work or at home, they are always willing to help me, for they have been made to understand that Tanzanians should like each other and co-operate with each other. Such a relationship has been brought about through the light of education.

The relationship between me and my children is very different from the kind of relationship I used to have with my father when I was young. In those days, if I told my father that I wanted to study we would start a quarrel, for be believed that those who got educated merely moved about from one place to another like tourists. He wanted me to build a house and live a settled life. He himself never had the opportunity to learn about better methods of farming. But I tell and encourage my children to be conscientious about learning and I warn them that if they did not work hard there would be nothing that I would do to help them. I tell them, 'Do not blame me afterwards for your misfortunes and failures in life. Education nowadays is offered to you right at your doorstep and so you should take advantage of it'.

I help my children in their school work. For example, when my eight-year-old child returns from school I always ask him questions—'What did the teacher teach you today? What did you write today? Where did you write?' I do not want my children to suffer the way I suffered by missing schooling during my childhood.

My economic condition has improved. For example, you are made to understand certain ways and means which you can use to improve yourself economically. You are told that in time to come you will become old and you have your children to take care of. Therefor it is important to save some money every month and put it in a savings account in the bank. I have realized the importance of saving not only for the sake of my children but also for solving my own special problems as they arise from time to time. Before, there was no one to tell you 'Brother, there is a today and a tomorrow. Even if you have only two shillings to save, save it by keeping it in a savings account'.

My wages have increased as well as a result of becoming literate. I can now exercise my own initiative in my job. When I use my literacy skills in doing my job more efficiently and with greater productivity, my efforts become much more visible to my employers and I am rewarded accordingly.

I had missed the opportunity for schooling during my childhood because the nearest school was 43 miles away. When I grew up, I felt very bitter about that. Those were hard times. But now educational facilities have brought closer to the people right to the village and work-place. Whatever was far has been pushed nearer to you. And so I was only too happy to take advantage of this great opportunity for learning right here at my factory.

Before, the word 'education' used to terrify me. When you heard that someone had an education you were led to believe that it was something very difficult and inaccessible. You began to wonder where did he go and what did he do to get his education. Previously, it never occurred to me that the so-called educated man must have started from scratch too—that is, by acquiring the basic literacy skills first. Instead, you thought that this man was *born* with education. It was a baffling phenomenon. Education had the aura of some kind of magic. But now I know that anyone can learn and anyone can get education. I realize that education is a thing that is taught to you and education is development. An educated man is simply one who is made to *understand* and to *know,* and that is how we are involved in our literacy programme. And it is not at all difficult. Education, we thought, was something that was 'there', somewhere far away. We did not know where that 'there' was, but now you are told that it is right there near the river and so you realize that it is quite near.

Literacy first and foremost enlightens your whole life and all your daily activities whatever they may be. I read all sorts of books and learn many things. And as I have already said before, literacy helps me directly in doing my job more competently and intelligently. I read newspapers, especially 'Uhuru'. I buy a copy almost everyday unless I am short of cash. And when that happens I borrow a copy of the newspaper from a friend who has bought it. Sometimes I buy books and read them at home and I also borrow some books from my friends. I thank God.

Looking back from where I started and where I find myself now, it is a matter of great achievement and I hope to learn a great deal more. A man of my age who has now learnt how to read and write letters is a matter of being thankful to God. Our teachers are hard working and have liberated us from ignorance. I thank God for that and I also thank the teachers for their whole-hearted efforts in teaching us.

2. No Evaluator is Neutral (Alan Etherington)

In the recent writings on non-formal education, we have witnessed a return to stressing the links between education and political struggle. 'There is no such thing as a neutral educational process' writes Shaull in the introduction to

Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 'Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world'. And in the main body of the same text, Freire has drawn the important distinction between banking and liberating education: 'In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing...Liberating education consists in acts of cognition...involves a constant unveiling of reality...and strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality'.

Similarly, as Green defined: 'The first task of education is to create both an understanding that change is possible and the knowledge of alternatives leading to desire for change. The second is to enable individuals and communities to identify what types of change they wish to achieve and how to set out to attain them. The third—not the first—is the training in particular skills and the provision of particular pieces of knowledge'.'

Political factors are also evident in Lovett's discussion of community education in Northern Ireland, where he distinguishes between community education as the 'arm' of community action and as a general educational service. As an 'arm' of community action, education is concerned with: 'group discussions, reflection and acquisition of practical skills in an atmosphere removed from everyday pressures...viewing it as a social movement which bridged the sectarian divide and offered some hope of eventual working class solidarity'.

By contrast, community education as a community service 'emphasizes a commitment to the working class as a group so they can avail themselves of adult education resources and opportunities'. While this may serve individual advancement it does not relate to the 'resources and services required to inform, strengthen and develop a community action movement'.

As a final example, Werner has distinguished a continuum of programmes of rural health extending between two poles: community supportive and community oppressive.

> *Community supportive* programmes or functions are those which favourably influence the long-range welfare of the community, that help it stand on its own feet, that genuinely encourage responsibility, initiative, decision making and self-reliance at the community level, that build upon human dignity.
>
> *Community oppressive* programmes or functions are those which, while invariably giving lip service to the above aspects of community input, are fundamentally authoritarian, paternalistic or are structured and carried out in such a way that they effectively encourage greater dependency, servility and unquestioning acceptance of outside regulations and decisions which in the long run are crippling to the dynamics of the community.

Moreover, he notes that 'with certain exceptions, the programmes which we found to be more community supportive were small non-government efforts, usually operating on a shoestring and with a more or less secretive status'.

Similarly, there has been a growing awareness of the political role of social research. For example, in discussing who social researchers choose as their objects of study, Nicholas has argued that: 'Sociologists stand guard in the garrison and report to its masters on the movement of the occupied populace. The more adventurous sociologists don the disguise of the people and go out to mix with the peasants in the 'field' returning with books and articles that break the protective secrecy in which a subjugated population wraps itself, and make it more accessible to manipulation and control'. But, he challenges: 'What if the machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, actions and decisions of the wealthy and powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried into, analysed and cross-referenced, tabulated and published in a hundred inexpensive mass-circulation journals, and written so that even the fifteen-year-old high school drop-outs could understand it and predict the actions of their parents' landlord, manipulate and control him?'

There are also political considerations in the choice of how social research is carried out. The use of the normal methods such as interview and questionnaire in adult education have been criticized on such grounds as: (a) over-simplifying social reality; (b) asking for fragmented opinions or knowledge rather than a holistic view of their life; (c) talking to individuals rather than groups; (d) the difficulty of linking them to subsequent action; (e) the benefits they bring to the researcher rather than the researched; (f) the appearance they give of being objective; and (g) their over-emphasis on what is quantifiable (i.e. head-counting surveys).

Clearly the uncritical use of the usual methods of social research will distort an evaluation. As a final point, we should remember that we normally occupy a different position in society from the participants of most programmes of non-formal education. As de Oliveira put it: 'How can a social scientist be objective toward society if he or she be an integral part of that same society and if the social position which he or she occupies causes one to think in such and such a manner?'

The evaluation of non-formal education involves, therefore, the use of a politically loaded process to study a politically loaded activity. As evaluators of non-formal education, we cannot pretend to be neutral in how we work, nor on what we work, nor about the potential uses to which our work may be put. Moreover, pretending there is no decision to be made is in itself a choice. As Freire points out: 'Refusal to take sides in the conflict of the powerful with the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral'.

Traditionally, social evaluation has been viewed as a tool to assist decision makers to make better decisions about the modification, continuation or termination of programmes designed for those effectively precluded from the decision-making process. The first, and crucial, political decision to be made is 'Whose side are we on?' For evaluators it would seem that this has been clearly answered by the role definition above—we are on the side of the powerful, the decision makers and the state. Consequently, we are not on the side of the oppressed, the powerless and the poor.

This then leads to a dialectic of evaluation—it is possible for us to serve the decision makers and economically survive as evaluators, while at the same time contributing through our work to the political struggle for social justice? The dilemma is intensified when it concerns evaluating programmes with which one has no sympathy. On the one hand evaluation may help a bad programme improve and become perhaps more oppressive or give it a certain unwarranted credibility. On the other, as Berk and Rossi point out, 'To avoid evaluations unless one can work comfortably with the people for whom the research is being undertaken is clearly a political and moral decision with political and moral consequences. By failing to participate one has loaded the dice so that the results will reflect the preferences of the active parties. Clearly withdrawal may be equivalent to implicit support'.

Most programmes of skill-based non-formal education are based upon an analysis of a problem informed through conventional wisdom. For example, that the unemployed are unemployed because they lack the appropriate skills. Some would argue that the mere inclusion of an evaluation component implies some uncertainty about that analysis or how it has been operationalized. To the extent that this uncertainty is confirmed, then this conventional and limited wisdom is thrown into question. As, for example, when an evaluation shows that even with skill training, the unemployed remain unemployed.

The Canadian Accountant General has recently spoken of 'an understandable temptation to avoid any attempt to evaluate effectiveness because the evaluation may reveal findings unfavourable to a programme. Any attempt to evaluate effectiveness in the Government environment is an act of courage'. Evaluation is a (minor) risk to the state, and that risk increases with a skeptical, politically-aware evaluator. Moreover, with public spending 'cutbacks' the pressures to evaluate are increasing.

It is almost always insufficient to limit the evaluation to consider only how far the programmes' goals have been met. Many programmes of non-dialogical education can achieve their limited objectives without affecting the underlying social structure or making any impact in the problem that spawned the programme in the first place.

For instance, it is possible to increase knowledge of nutrition or change attitudes towards fertilizers without increasing health or food production? A token evaluation might judge such a programme a success but a politically aware evaluation would want to go further and consider, for example, the political economy of nutrition or agriculture.

It is the writer's experience that decision makers are often unclear about the objectives of a programme of non-formal education and the method by which it will work. They are even more unclear about what questions the evaluation should answer or how it should go about its task. There is, therefore, a certain amount of free space to ask politically important questions such as 'Who gains at whose expense?'. It is impossible for everyone to benefit through any programme and probably not to be welcomed if it did. As Green states: 'To say that "everyone gains"...is an ambivalent (result): should slum landlords, coercive petty bureaucrats and predatory companies, gain too?' This free space may also permit us to follow a method of participatory evaluation and to accord more weight to the opinions and judgements of participants than, say, administrators or employers.

Many of our evaluation tools are drawn from mainstream social sciences with their emphasis on studying and labelling individuals. With this legacy we are far more able to measure an individual's knowledge or skill than an organization's oppressiveness or flexibility. As an attempt to shift the focus from individuals to the programme in which they study we have developed an instrument for use by students of adult education in Canada which provides a rather crude yet telling way of judging the objectives, content and method. It is based on the insights of various writers on the politics of education (and, in particular, Freire).

Part of this instrument is reproduced below. It isolates a number of important themes, and introduces the extremes of each theme with a short quotation. The exercise is then to locate the approximate position of the programme on each scale from the evidence available and provide a rationale for this position:

The Teacher-Student Relationship

> A careful analysis of the student-teacher relationship at any level, inside or outside the school, reveals its fundamentally narrative character.
>
> Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who, while being taught, also teach.

teacher-student-dialogues with student-teachers	*teachers narrate to students*

Collective or Individual Advancement

> We have to say today '*we* think, therefore *we* are'. Because I cannot think if you do not think. Secondly if I cannot think with you, we cannot know.
>
> Without collective advancement there can be no genuine individual advancement, but only uprooting.

collective	*individual*

The Origin and Control of Content

> For the anti-dialogical banking educator, the question of content simply concerns the programme about which he will discourse to his students; and he answers his own question by organizing his own programme.
>
> The starting point for organizing the programme content of education for political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people.
>
> We must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly.

bottom up	*top down*

Effect of the Education

> The development of an educational methodology that facilitates this process (of the practice of freedom) will inevitably lead to tension and conflict within our society.
>
> The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them.

tension and conflict	*adaptation to the world as it is*

From limited use, we have found that it works first as an educational tool, assisting us to understand and apply these various insights. From an evaluation point of view it has the potential to move the task from a solely research activity to one of research and critique. Data are no longer collected only to measure or even illuminate the programme but to be critically judged against specific criteria.

The evaluation of small-scale programmes of consciousness-raising differ significantly in a number of ways:

(a) Goal-oriented evaluation is inappropriate, for by definition the programme starts with a commitment to a dialogical method but not to a fixed goal. The goals are determined by participants during the course of the programme as a dynamic and continuing process.

(b) Formal evaluation is often precluded by the process of praxis, with its emphasis on reflection, which thus makes evaluation explicitly part of the programme.

(c) By exploiting the free space that exists within liberal pluralist societies it may be possible for radical consciousness-raising programmes to receive some state support, to survive and perform effective work for some years. It is in this period that an outside evaluation could serve as intentional or unwitting espionage. This may mean the politically aware evaluator choosing not to ask some questions of a programme or suppressing some results for some audiences. For as Rahnema has observed: 'It is... naive to suppose that an élite-ruled, technocratic and modernizing society will for long tolerate an education system which threatens to become a powerful instrument of internal subversion'.

For countries committed to the full and democratic involvement of their citizens in development, consciousness-raising programmes will not normally pose such a subversive threat to the state. Evaluations in this setting then appear to serve such functions as: (a) describing the programme to encourage its appropriate replication; (b) illuminating its workings to inform future programmes of its experience and lessons; (c) measuring its worth through value judgements of participants physical results, participation rates, etc. and (d) defining who has benefited at whose expense.

Freire has recently written of education: 'In concerning myself with what should be known, I am also necessarily involved with why it needs to be known, how, to what end, and in whose interest, as well as against what and whom'. As evaluators or researchers, involved in the process of deciding 'what should be known' these thoughts clearly apply to us. And as educators we know the importance of continuing our personal learning. With our concern for conscientizing 'others' we should also be concerned with raising our own consciousness. There is no other solution to the dialectic of evaluation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

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CHAPTER 5

Operational Problems

Towards a Non-Formal System?

It has already been noted that one of the widely perceived advantages of non-formal education is flexibility. In part this stems from the fact that programmes have frequently been conceived in isolation by separate governmental and non-governmental organizations: each has responded swiftly to a particular need at a particular time and at a particular place. But if particularity and isolation have given rise to virtue, then this has been largely a matter of accident. The whole justification for 'the non-formal idea' (see Chapter 1 above) is that we should build on virtue and create a more coherent structure than often exists at present. We spoke in Chapter 1 of NFE being part of 'the development system'. What must now be attempted is to make something of a 'system' out of existing NFE programmes—without losing the established non-formal virtues of flexibility and relevance to the needs of the mainly rural poor.

As T. A. Koshy has pointed out:[1]

> Included in this view of education is a variety of human learning needs, such as the acquisition of occupational and household skills, the assimilation and successful utilization of information on nutrition, sanitation, maternal/child health care, family planning, small farm management, housing improvement, the cultivation of vegetables and fruits on family plots of land, the basic everyday consumer economics. It also includes the formation of new attitudes, values and aspirations and the building of an informed, active citizenry where each member is concerned with his own individual well-being, that of his neighbours and of his environment. This view of education and learning is focused on human beings; its intention is to help an individual find ways of articulating his needs and those of his community, mobilizing resources to meet these needs, and taking appropriate action. It is a type of learning that is not imposed by outside forces, but is sought and developed by the learners themselves.
>
> This type of education is distinguished best by the role it plays, and not by its structure. Namely, it serves both young people and adults, literates and illiterates; it is closely related to local needs, and it is neither time-bound nor place-bound. That is, it does not need to take place in school buildings, nor

> follow national curricula, nor require specified, rigid lengths of time to complete, nor have as its purpose the earning of a degree or title. Rather, it is life-long. It is education in a broad sense regardless of where, when, or how the learning occurs. The audience to be served by this type of learning opportunity in this development point of view is the majority of the world's population which either lives a marginal rural existence in a vicious cycle of agricultural work of low productivity or which barely survives in shanties on the fringes of a large, crowded urban metropolis. Certainly the formal school system should be part of the solution for alleviating these conditions, but the task is much larger and requires much more than what a single Ministry of Education has traditionally been called upon to do within the confines of the school. It requires inter-ministerial, inter-agency co-operation in health, agriculture, nutrition, and education with integrated programmes and projects which are directly linked to the milieu and life style of the people most in need of these opportunities.

Philip Coombs expresses in another way the problem of establishing a non-formal system when he says:

> Other ministries and agencies (dealing, for example, with agriculture, social welfare, labour and manpower, rural development, health and family planning) are generally more heavily engaged in non-formal education (correctly and broadly perceived) than the Ministry of Education itself. There is a flagrant need for these various sponsors of fragmented non-formal education efforts to form themselves into a co-operative and well co-ordinated community with a sense of common purpose. So long as one of their number asserts a monopoly over the subject, it is next to impossible to achieve a bureaucratic harmonization of effort. Meanwhile, the stultifying fragmentation of non-formal education continues and worsens.[2]

Moreover, it is not just a matter of 'co-ordination', a favourite talking point if an excuse is sought for inaction. What is needed is a change of attitude amongst educators which accepts a recurrent education perspective as part of the future for all of us. It is here that one of the more important non-formal influences on formal systems may be felt; this will be returned to later.

From the wide range of programmes already mentioned in this book, it will be evident that the non-formal idea has already been embraced with varying degrees of enthusiasm. India seems well on the way to establishing a non-formal system which involves 'all categories of learners and . . . all levels of education'.[3] Some countries, like Botswana, have embraced the concept, but confine it to 'out of school' education;[4] yet others may so far have taken little positive action. In all cases there is evidence of wanting to move towards a more integrated structure, to make more effective what already exists and to promote new programmes in the interests of national development. If this more integrated structure is to be achieved, what are the ideas which have to be embraced?

There is a direct relationship here with the development goals of the 1970s which go beyond mere economic growth; education must reckon with more concern for employment prospects, social equity and participation by those who have received little benefit from past development efforts. Just as development strategies have become more diverse, so the unquestioning expansion of 'end on' formal systems has inevitably given way to a search for alternative educational strategies. Inevitably, as we noted in Chapter 1, this means that to some extent the non-formal idea is a reaction against the failures of formal systems, part of the need for reshaping and restructuring the whole of education. Formal systems are seen as dysfunctional in relation to development goals. High costs, an unequal distribution of resources, a concentration on preparation for the next stage of learning rather than preparation for life, and the underemployment of many school leavers are just some of the dissatisfactions which need little repetition here.

There have been a number of attempts to delineate the main characteristics of non-formal alternatives. Simkins does this in relation to purposes, timing, content, delivery systems and control. (See Table 5). However, in promoting the idea of a non-formal system, it is necessary to go beyond a theoretical analysis, however helpful that may be in understanding how the non-formal idea has been developed. Moreover, the use in isolation of such a polarized typology may itself impede the interaction with formal education which is one of the necessary preconditions for successful programming. In order both to retain their dynamism and to relate effectively to the formal system, it seems to me that non-formal educators need to proclaim and build upon their virtues of relevance and flexibility in five main areas: these concern the categories of target groups, purposes, organization, methods and relationships with the formal system.

We argued in Chapter 2 that 'development is for people'. Certainly the concentration on the non-participators and on the 'forgotten people' as the main target groups has now become widely accepted. Not only was it generally agreed at Delhi, but also at an earlier conference at Dar es Salaam in 1976.[6] And it is the same with the second area of virtue, namely, purposes. Just as at Delhi we were concerned with the 'politicality' of NFE so, as Budd Hall and Roby Kidd have asserted, the structural changes necessary for balanced development: '...are not only technical or economic or educational concerns but are rooted in political decisions...Adult education—which encompasses the human, educative and political dimensions of society—can prepare the ground within countries and between countries for the hard political decisions that have to be made, as well as acting as an instrument of popular participation so that decisions

Table 5: Ideal Type Models of Formal and Non-Formal Education

Formal	Non-Formal
Purposes	
Long-term and general	Short-term and specific
Credential-based	Non-credential-based
Timing	
Long cycle	Short cycle
Preparatory	Recurrent
Full-time	Part-time
Content	
Input-centred and standardised	Output-centred and individualised
Academic	Practical
Clientele determined by entry requirements	Entry requirements determined by clientele
Delivery System	
Institution-based	Environment based
Isolated (from the socio-economic environment and from social action)	Community-related
Rigidly structured	Flexibly structured
Teacher-centred	Learner-centred
Resource-intensive	Resource-saving
Control	
External	Self-governing
Hierarchical	Democratic

Modified from Tim Simkins, *Non-Formal Education and Development.*[5]

are not manipulative and élitist but humanizing, egalitarian and liberating.[7]

There is of course a problem here for the non-formal educator as well as an opportunity. Non-formal education is concerned with large political issues affecting the lives of all people, including the 'disadvantaged' or the 'powerless'. It is about poverty and employment prospects, about moving towards greater equalities and improving the quality of life for all. However, educators cannot control political systems and have to work within them. But the *educative dimension* of programmes is likely to be at the very heart of a given country's political processes.

Perhaps the most difficult task for any non-formal educator is to be clear about the boundaries of his own professional role. For example, in a situation where different development ideologies are under debate, any concentration on the educative dimension may well lead the non-formal educator to make his own contribution in terms of how 'educative' the programme is likely to be (e.g. in terms of participation rates and what is learned). As with all professional roles, good training programmes are an important pre-requisite for effective action. In the areas of target groups and purposes an international dimension to training would be especially significant; it would enable educators to share experiences of the whole range of non-participators as well as comparing purposes in a variety of national settings.

Of the other three areas of non-formal virtue, two (organization and methods) have already been looked at in Chapter 3. The last, links with the formal system is the one to which we now turn.

NFE and the Formal System

As was noted in Chapter 2, it is essential that the formal and non-formal systems should be 'complementary, and that links exist or are created to permit mobility and comparability between the two'.[8] Such links will not arise spontaneously as there is often rivalry, suspicion or misunderstanding between the two sectors. Even the pressures for change from within society itself are unlikely to be enough. As the mismatch between formal academic qualifications and employment prospects affects more and more people, and as many remain excluded from formal schools, positive efforts are needed to bridge any gaps which exist.

Earlier in this chapter the idea of a separate non-formal system was deliberately posed as a question. Clearly there does have to be a sense of identity among non-formal *educators* if the word is to have real meaning for them. One major task of training is to produce that sense of identity. For example, the agricultural extension worker has to feel he is also an educator. And, of course, it frequently happens that reacting *against* formal schooling can produce the quickest sense of being part of an integrated structure. For example, in publicizing non-formal education in India the failures of formal education are emphasized and the non-formal virtues are lauded as desirable *alternatives* to the weaknesses of formal schools. Non-formal education is 'life, environment and learner oriented, it is diversified in content and method...it is built on learner participation...'[9]

Now of course it is desirable to emphasize virtue and to expose failure and the search for a non-formal *system* may well be a stage we all have to pass through. For example, in my own university department, it was not until we labelled our programmes for working-class adults 'non-formal' that they begun to have an impact on traditional, more formal, provision. But it is precisely in this ability to influence formal education that there is both the greatest dilemma for the non-formal educator and the greatest opportunity. If we succeed in building a separate non-formal system we shall have failed to exercise proper influence on the whole of education. If we succeed, the new found emphasis on the non-formal label becomes unnecessary.

Already in many countries it is no longer true that the 'educational system finds itself in contradiction with what education is' and to categorize schools as places for 'memorizing', or 'learning how to conform', or 'promoting intellectual laziness', leaves out of account both the reforms undertaken in recent years and the pressures for such reforms which have been with us for very much longer. One thinks of the rapid growth of curriculum reform and development work in the 1960s which has affected teaching in many countries, or the coming together of formal and non-formal in Tanzania's use of primary schools and teachers as adult education centres. It is on these and similar growth points that a start has to be made.

Bridging programmes have been tried on a number of occasions but often flounder because of administrative difficulties or the complex issue of accreditation. Mature age entry into the University of East Africa (instituted in 1963) has not survived in its original form mainly because of the growth in numbers of qualified candidates from secondary schools. In the United Kingdom, the Open University is still grappling with the issue of transferable credits. We have to keep trying! However, although we need to examine very carefully the way in which links and transfers can be established we must on no account do so by sacrificing flexibility and relevance. The 'formalization' of non-formal education has to be avoided. For example, it is all too easy to transform a craft centre for unemployed youth (and designed to *create* employment opportunities) into a low-grade trade school taking standard trade tests (for which few employment opportunities may exist in the modern sector).[11]

As the Conference Report points out:

> Interaction between organizational structures is also necessary. There is a need for schoolteachers, health workers, and agricultural extension workers to share resources and mutually benefit from an appreciation of each other's roles. Co-operation is essential at all levels from the village to the national government to enable agricultural workers to appreciate the relationships of their work to that of health workers, and for school teachers and community workers to understand one another.
>
> Both formal and non-formal education have features which may be constructively transferred from one to another. For example, non-formal education has shown how education can be democratic, learner centred, and related to local needs. Formal education, on the other hand, offers a range of

personnel, physical resources and learning packages which can be adapted for non-formal programmes.

Programmes of non-formal education vary considerably in scope, target groups, purpose, and organization. It is difficult to establish general rules for organizing non-formal education or for linking formal and non-formal education. Therefore, each programme should be examined separately in order to see how best to link it with formal programmes.

Experience in a number of Commonwealth countries indicates that the ministry of education is not the only ministry which can effectively co-ordinate interaction between formal and non-formal education. In fact when it is located elsewhere, interaction is often very constructive. This is the case especially when the responsibility for non-formal education is in a relatively powerful ministerial office where its bargaining position for the use of resources and finance is relatively strong. None the less, in Tanzania where the fusion of formal and non-formal education is more advanced than most countries, the ministry of education continues to play a central role in co-ordinating the provision of both formal and non-formal education.

Interaction at district and local level may be hindered by barriers of individual status and inequalities in remuneration and conditions of workers in formal and non-formal education programmes. A concerted effort may often be required to bring about an awareness of the role played by everyone involved in a community's education whether they are individual members of the community, teachers or extension workers.

The community colleges in Botswana, which provide non-formal programmes for the country's Youth Brigade as well as regular secondary education, may provide one model for the provision of common services for all...

There is often a demand for non-formal education programmes which facilitate entry and re-entry into the formal system. In India courses which encapsulate the first five years of formal school are offered to drop-outs to enable them to re-enter at Grade Six. In Zambia children study at evening classes or by correspondence to regain entry to the junior secondary school.

The terms of re-entry are often stringently laid down by the formal sector which specifies certification, levels of literacy and minimum hours of class attendance. This often means that very few students gain re-entry to the formal system.

Over-crowding and over-taxing of limited resources in the formal sector are further factors which limit the possibility of re-entry for large numbers of people. Moreover, entry via non-formal programmes is often prevented because scarce places in the formal system are filled by those coming from lower ranks of the system who are treated preferentially.

Thus, there is a need for alternative ways and means of equipping people for employment (and for further education). Such alternative routes may be provided by non-formal education programmes. The formal education system will usually be a factor in these programmes, providing expertise, resources, personnel and accreditation. It will also provide a measure for standards so that non-formal programmes offer qualifications that are acceptable to employers and institutions of further education. Programmes of this kind are being offered in India's adult schools for literacy, commerce and vocational education. Over the next four years 50 of these polyvalent centres will be developed to offer a range of vocational and academic courses which will utilize personnel and resources from the formal system. They will also utilize the expertise of the formal system in pedagogical training and curriculum development. In this situation the formal educators themselves may be influenced to apply their experience with learner-based, needs-oriented non-formal education to the formal system.

In many countries formal education is moving out of the institutional setting and into the community. Students from formal-institutions are discovering the wealth and usefulness of community culture and gaining valuable experience and expertise by learning and working outside the classroom. Traditional forms of communication like dance, mime and myth are becoming incorporated into formal pedagogy...

Interaction with the community poses many problems, not least in finding people who are able to provide experiences for students which incorporate two-way dialogue. Teachers in the formal mould may find incursions into the outside community an uncomfortable experience. Conventional school buildings may be less than suitable for activities such as craft work, trade courses, art and recreation. It is argued that there should be a move away from institutions built and assigned to a particular age group and that the content and method of the learning experience demands a structure open to a wider meeting of minds. On the other hand, it is true that schools often create their own culture and the presence of members of the community does not necessarily result in a two-way dialogue.

Some problems can be overcome by training: teachers may benefit from in-service courses which help them understand the significance of community life in education. And members of the community who offer their services may also benefit from short training programmes which help them understand the learning needs of the students and assist them as teachers.

Universities and other institutions of higher learning can provide both leadership and support services for non-formal education programmes. They are in a unique position to promote educational reforms towards a more development-oriented approach throughout the education system. In order to cut across the barriers between formal and non-formal education they should make every effort to facilitate interchange, both by introducing more flexible policies of admission, and by relating their programmes to the needs of local communities and national circumstances. This is a major challenge that merits further investigation.

One way to facilitate a university's contribution to non-formal education is to establish a unit within the institution to help identify what steps can be taken to break down the rift between the formal and the non-formal systems. Other ways to increase a university's contribution are: (a) training of professional personnel in non-formal education; (b) extending the practical and field work base of degree and diploma courses; (c) deploying students and professional staff to non-formal education programmes (see the first appendix to this Chapter); (d) promoting action-oriented research to increase the effectiveness of non-formal education as a multi-disciplinary and development-oriented activity; (e) providing facilities for the non-formal education programmes of outside agencies.

The way schools develop roles in the community varies from country to country. In Sri Lanka, vocational skill courses are being offered in schools after Grade 9. Ghana provides an example of handicapped craft teachers gaining non-formal training experience prior to working in the formal school system; this opens the door to the vast range of community wisdom and skill which the formal school may be loath to draw upon and yet by so doing ignores the collective experience of the society in which it functions. In Tanzania, primary schools are also used as adult education centres as part of a planned attempt to integrate formal and non-formal provision.

This last development—community schools which operate in the mornings as primary schools and in the afternoons as adult education centres—represents both a rational use of resources and an opportunity for formal/non-formal interaction which is uncommon at present. With the level of public expenditure on education in less developed countries now approaching (and in some cases exceeding) 20 per cent, nobody can afford an entirely separate non-formal system. Any growth of non-formal provision must try to use existing resources. It thus seems vitally important that the growth of professional identity and confidence amongst non-formal educators should go hand in hand with a conscious attempt to integrate with the formal system. The one cannot happen without the other. If non-formal work is weak and under-financed it will seek to remain separate—even fragmented—in order not to be swamped by formal approaches and systems. As already noted, there is always a tendency for non-formal work to become formal—often an easier and perhaps more respectable option for teaching staff.

One area of influence of the non-formal on the formal is of immense importance. I refer to the idea of recurrent education or the 'distribution of education over the life-span of the individual in a recurring way, that is in the alternation with other activities, principally with work . . .' Non-formal education has begun to demonstrate a need to redistribute educational opportunity over time, to move away from an 'end on' model of education to one where education is lifelong and recurrent. It is only by doing this that the whole of education can respond effectively to the needs of today rather than to those of yesterday.

A move towards recurrent education requires a convergence of formal schools and of non-formal (especially adult) education to a point where the latter ceases to exist and we come to think of education as more of an undivided (but certainly diversified) whole. Formal and non-formal education should not only become complementary to each other but the distinction between them should cease to exist.

One example where this process of convergence has been taken further than in most countries is seen in the changing function of primary schools in Tanzania. Shared buildings and teachers for both primary schooling and non-formal adult education have already produced a sense of common endeavour supported by national education policy. Basic skills and understandings for the rural population to meet rural development needs provide the common content of the curriculum for all this activity.

Non-formal education will thus be at its most effective if it works towards a reform of education from within: a reform which adds to and supports formal systems and builds on the non-formal virtues, including greater participation rates. There is also need to add an educative dimension to all development efforts and flexibility in organisation and methods. We shall then perhaps be able to move 'beyond the non-formal fashion'[13] to an educational system which is recurrent throughout life and therefore an effective social institution, rather than end-on and age-specific and therefore unable to respond to rapid social, economic and political change, especially for working adults.

NFE and the Development System

The non-formal idea was conceived as a support and promoter of development. Therefore, unless it is an integral part of the development system it has lost its chief *raison d'être*. To ensure that integration is a central task of the non-formal educator. If everyone is to participate in development, then everyone must receive education and training of some kind; only then will they be part of the development process.

In looking at motivation in Chapter 1, it was argued that at the political level this 'is an essential pre-requisite'. Or, as Paul Mhaiki put it:[14]

> Of all the components of development services, the political will is the most influential in shaping the development of people. . . If development is centred on people, education of the people must go hand in hand with development projects. If development projects are forced on the people without the understanding, appreciation and participation of the people whom they are meant to serve, the results are minimal or nil. Many people have witnessed latrines feverishly built later to collapse unused; bridges and roads constructed but allowed to deteriorate unmaintained; factories established then not operated at optimal production; flourishing state farms neglected; dispensaries erected but unattended. Classrooms are built yet children grow up illiterate; literacy campaigns are initiated and after a few weeks there are no adult students. In all these abortive projects the initial mistake is the lack of proper analysis of the concept of development. This must, of course, definitely include the development of the things that people are to use in order to enrich themselves culturally and technically, socially and spiritually. Hence education should be

a component of every development service in society. It is difficult to think of any development service that would not require the understanding, appreciation and participation of the people whom it is meant to serve.

From the experience of Tanzania, Paul Mhaiki concludes:

The ruling party and the national government should be in the forefront in teaching the people the meaning of development, democracy, liberty and equality. The party and government determine the direction of development of the country and the people, either blindly or with understanding and participation. Thus the major role of the political parties in development is to teach, explain, persuade people to make decisions, and to support the government and government agencies in implementing development projects.

Political leaders, cadres, opinion leaders and activists can teach people, persuade them to vote, mobilize them, and encourage them to come out in great numbers to celebrate important events and support development projects. Through political education and propaganda political leaders can arouse people's consciousness and mobilize their energies for development efforts. Political mobilization and education for development are essential when dealing with the issue of development for the masses and when the objective of the government is the creation of a democratic and more egalitarian society.

Tanzania, China and Vietnam are countries that owe their success in non-formal education to the leadership of the political parties. Usually the mobilization and education of the people is continuous, the training of cadres is systematized, and the progress of adult education is assessed in party committees and at every general party conference where new efforts are praised, weaknesses revealed and new directions for mobilization and education are decided for the whole nation. This kind of concern lends importance to all forms of non-formal education. Workers in non-formal education feel they are engaged in matters of importance to the people, while the people feel that they matter. Adult educators, especially at grass-roots level, should be activists if they are to be successful in making adults, young people and women understand why learning is important. This kind of work cannot be done by conventional bureaucrats administering solely from an office. In Tanzania, all adult education officers in the districts are also political education officers of the ruling party. Their duty is not simply to organize and administer non-formal education in the districts, but also to explain it in the context of people's aspirations. People at the grass roots would understand and be convinced of the efficacy of new methods of agriculture if these new methods were explained not only from the technical point of view but also from the political point of view.

The adult education officers in Tanzania have been active in promoting health and agriculture campaigns on the above lines. Outstanding examples are the 'Politics is Agriculture' campaign in 1972, the 'Agriculture for Life or Death' campaign in 1975, and the 'Man is Health' campaign. In all of these, adult education officers have been the key personnel. In China and Vietnam the same kinds of cadres are given more opportunities to improve their education because of the 'multiplier' effect it has on the whole population. Thus political mobilization and education are fundamental development services that political parties and governments can give to their people, especially in developing countries. 'It is not enough to have good ideas and good plans if there is no revolution that gives power to the masses.'[15]

Whatever the political system, however, governments will need to involve as many people as possible both in development and in non-formal education—and this applies especially to the major target groups identified by the Delhi Conference: out of school children and unemployed youth, adult illiterates, women. Political education and political leadership remain the basis of other development activity.

In developing countries of the Commonwealth, up to 95% of all people live in rural areas; the soil is the main means of their livelihood, and agriculture the main revenue earner for the government. In these circumstances farming is often the main focus of development and agricultural education (normally extension) the main part of non-formal education. We have already noted in Chapter 3 the need for extension workers to be educators; the fact that they must not only have technical knowledge and skills but also act as animateurs. For that they will need to consider themselves as adult educators, 'an idea unfamiliar to many of them, as some prefer to pose as administrators and bureaucrats'.[16]

Many developing countries have realized this, and various efforts are being made to educate the people in modern methods of agriculture for higher production. Nigeria is an example: encouraged to produce cash crops to satisfy colonial needs for raw materials, ravaged by civil war, struck by drought, but blessed with petrol money, many people deserted the countryside to seek quick wealth in the towns. As a result Nigeria found herself less and less self-reliant in food. In 1976 the Nigerian Government started a campaign known as 'Operation Feed the Nation' in which the non-formal education components formed an important part.

Another example is the Tanzanian campaign called 'Agriculture is Politics' which was launched in Kilimo in 1974. The aim of this campaign was to educate the rural people in the significance of agriculture. Afterwards, in 1976, the failure of seasonal rains made famine imminent and the Tanzanian Government was forced to buy large supplies of food to feed the nation. With the lessons of the previous campaign fresh in the people's minds the government ran a campaign known as 'Agriculture for Life or Death' which has caught on permanently among individual farmers and workers, but poorly among institutions. Many workers now produce some of their own food. Educating the people in new agricultural techniques has played an important part in these two mass campaigns.

In Malaysia, the Ministry of Agriculture and Community Development adopts a holistic approach to the rural population.

Programmes are aimed especially at women and are intended to equip rural women with the necessary knowledge and skills to bring about the desired societal changes. It is also the intention to increase the understanding necessary for better living conditions and practices.

Case Study 1: The Family Development Programme in Malaysia
As a result of the 1961 adult literacy programme it was discovered that 80% of the participants were women. This was followed in 1963 with a home economics programme. Initially this concentrated on the training of 'homemakers' in the following ways: (a) better utilization of existing food resources, i.e. eggs, poultry, fresh vegetables and fruits; (b) planning and preparing nutritious meals based upon popular recipes, taking into account existing food habits and preferences; (c) better management of family resources, efficient use of time, money and energy, improvement of kitchen and sanitary facilities using locally available material; (d) small scale food preparation and home or cottage industries.

The keen interest and enthusiasm in learning for self and family improvement has paved the way for steady development and expansion of the programme: it is now appropriately known as the Family Development Programme. Through this programme the needs of rural women and families in daily living and as participants in agricultural production and rural development are being met in an integrated manner. It is people-action-oriented and stresses self-reliance. The objective is to nurture and develop families through the full utilization of women's potential in order to effect the desired socio-economic and cultural changes.

Programme Description
The programme comprises several inter-related activities:

(a) Training in home economics for rural women carried out at the Regional Training Centres for Family Development, with a two-fold purpose: (i) making them better housewives and mothers; (ii) providing them with skills that can help increase the family income.
(b) Short orientation courses for rural women to make them more development oriented and more capable and ready to receive and support development programmes brought to them subsequently by all agencies.
(c) Home economics classes right in the village itself, with the emphasis on nutrition and family health.
(d) Work-oriented classes such as tailoring, handicraft and agriculture, the knowledge thus gained to be used to meet their own or to supplement their family incomes.
(e) Pre-school Children's Centres (Taman Bimbingan Kanak-Kanak or TBK) to provide a suitable environment for the social, physical

and mental development of children, and, as an educational process, the parents are fully involved.

(f) Home visits by home economics workers of the department to guide the housewives to undertake actual improvements within the homes as a follow-up to lessons in the classroom.

A special feature of this programme is the concept of creating 'ideal homes and families' (Rumah dan Keluarga Sempurna) through a concerted effort of the home economics worker with the full co-operation of the household. In this activity the household is guided through a comprehensive improvement scheme within the houses as well as in the compound. Kitchen improvement and orderliness goes along with proper sanitation and home gardens in many other useful innovations. This activity is conducted in the positive faith that all households, no matter how poor or rich, can be improved.

Programme Implementation

Following a specially designed Code of Practice each Family Developer is assigned to one adult class for a period of one to two years depending on the progress achieved and the 'felt needs' of the community. She conducts the class three times a week and pays follow-up home visits once a week. Through guided demonstration and lesson plans, appropriate visual aids and occasional support of mobile units, she conducts classes in simple basic knowledge and skills relating to nutrition, health and hygiene, child-care and feeding, home and family management, family planning and budgeting, food production, preparation and storage, home-based income producing activities, modern agricultural techniques, rural co-operatives and marketing. Her follow-up visits to the homes enables her to give the necessary encouragement, technical advice or assistance, if required, to initiate self-help activities for the home and family-life improvement. Assistance from the home visits, and the implementation of simple techniques which make use of locally obtainable materials in the most practical manner, often produce tangible results. Frequently the spirit of rivalry with the neighbours increases and maintains self motivation. From past experience it is found that interest is sustained through group meetings, competitions in better homes and gardens, skill in utilizing locally available materials and showing off their achievements to visitors and other respected members of the community.

Though the FDWs can give the extra assistance in the form of suggestions or demonstrations, normally self-help activities are carried out by the families, either by themselves or with the help of the community or youth clubs or other voluntary organizations depending on the projects to be done. An adult student may invite her group to her house to see how she does a particular project, and they then take turns to help in whatever activities they find enjoyable to work in as a group. All the workers are local people responsible to committees formed from local services.

From the description given above it is plain that the Malaysian programme is a clearly defined social service, carefully administered and with well thought out but pre-determined objectives. Other women's programmes may have a more stormy history. One such example—with strong 'grass-roots' origins—is given in the next case study.

Case Study 2: The Self Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad

A notable feature of this programme is that illiterate women were only brought to accept the need for education and literacy *after* they had organized themselves and development action began; this is the development-before-literacy approach referred to in Chapter 1. And, even more remarkable perhaps, the University of Gujarat was willing to provide a course on the modern market economy *before* they had become literate.

Vina Mazumdar writes:

> SEWA or the Self Employed Women's Association, at Ahmedabad, Gujarat State in India, represents a 'development miracle'. It had its beginnings as an off-shoot of the Textile Labour Association; this is an unusual union in that it was formed with the support of Mahatma Gandhi to help *unorganized* labour. Faced by a demand from some poor working women, who made a living as head loaders, that the TLA should do something to protect them from harassment by wholesalers and shopkeepers, the women's department of TLA surveyed the conditions of several such groups of working women—vegetable vendors, junksmiths, used garment dealers, handcart pullers, sand carriers, milk-producers etc. The department came up with the answer—only associational strength could help these women to combat their problems. The problems were many—indebtedness, insecure incomes, non-ownership of the tools of their trade, non-recognition by local authorities as legitimate traders or labourers, poor health, constant poverty, and helplessness in the face of exploitation.
>
> The women agreed; there were successive meetings with constantly increasing numbers and SEWA was born in 1973. Starting with 80 members, it now has a membership of 10,800 women, urban and rural, engaged as self-employed, contract workers or wage-earners in various occupations. After some years of persistence, it has won acceptance and registration as a trade union in spite of initial classification difficulties posed by legal authorities. How could an association of the self-employed be a trade union? SEWA members say they are *workers*; they work for a daily *wage*, and they are *exploited* by different groups—moneylenders, wholesale dealers, municipal authorities, the police, etc.—so why could they not form a union? Was the

right to strike against the employer the only characteristic of a trade union? Could not a union strive to secure freedom from exploitation, legislative protection, and security of work for the self-employed also? Would not such an association promote the collective strength and moral development of its members?

Obtaining this recognition itself proves the strength that this association has developed in the five years of its existence. Starting without any well-designed model, the organization has taken on tasks as problems were identified by its members. Indebtedness to moneylenders at exploitative rates of interest led them to nationalized banks for loans for their working capital and thus to own such equipment as handcarts, trolleys and donkeys. The bank's horrified protests about lack of collateral and the inability of bank staff to deal with illiterate women unfamiliar with bank procedures or problems of identification, were worn down by the association's persistence and readiness to act as an intermediary. It became guarantor, a self-appointed regulator of repayment and spokesman—for the women to the banks, and for the banks to the women. The prestige of the TLA which was backing this effort also helped and the banks succumbed. A year later, they admitted that SEWA members had a better record in repayment of loans that most other clients of the banks.

But the problem remained of bridging the gap between illiterate women—in filthy clothes, accompanied by noisy and rowdy children—and the bank staff—used to educated middle-class clients. The women's heavy schedule did not permit them to keep banking hours. If the banks refused to accept payment on the day the women were free to come, then the money got spent. The solution was to minimize direct contact of the loanees with the bank staff while ensuring the flow of loans. The members found the answer—a bank of their own, where they would be accepted on their own right, and not made to feel inferior, or interlopers. They were poor but they were many, and they raised Rs.70,000 in six months to register the Women's Sewa Co-operative Bank. When they found that all the promoters had to sign the registration papers, eleven illiterate group leaders elected for this purpose sat up through a night to learn to sign their names without error. Opened on 4 July 1974, the bank's deposits mounted to Rs.300,000 by the end of the year and to Rs.1,613,000 by the end of November 1978. By this date the Bank had nearly 7,000 shareholders, over 11,000 accounts, and a share capital of Rs.82,000. Nearly Rs.100,000 had been advanced as loans during 1977–1978, and Rs.68,000 was repaid during the same year. Nearly 3,000 Sewa members has also received Rs.141,600 as loans from nationalized banks during the period 1974 to 1976. During the five years of its existence, Sewa has been instrumental in distributing loans amounting to Rs.3 million to about 9,000 members.

Muslim, Rabari, Harijan (the untouchable castes) and other caste women came to the bank to transact business, enjoy a gossip session watched their children playing together, and catch up on Sewa's news. Problems of illiteracy and identification were solved by using photographs in lieu of signatures on their pass books.

The bank has served many purposes: (a) to centralize the processing of loans and repayment; (b) to offer safe custody for loans received from the nationalized banks; (c) to promote thrift—as an insurance against oppressive dependence on relatives or the community; and (d) to provide services for bulk purchase of raw materials, redesigning tools, designs, finding new market-channels, training in accounting and financial management, recovery of pawned jewelry from moneylenders, selling postal stationery, and payment of municipal bills.

While members decide on purposes for utilizing loans, Sewa's staff has sought to persuade them to use them mainly for business purposes and not for social rituals. The loans are small—mostly ranging from Rs.250 to Rs.800. Apart from its intermediary role, for which it earns service charges from the big banks, Sewa Bank also provides small loans (Rs.50 – Rs.2,000) directly. For these the repayment record is 100%.

In the opinion of the bank, programmes to raise the women's productivity and managerial skills assist the women and the bank, and enhance Sewa's and its members' prestige in the world of business. Repayments become regular, old debts are cleared, and members gain in overall self-reliance and confidence. The only defaulters are women who fall sick or die. Malnutrition and maternity are the two greatest killers.

In the social strata from which Sewa draws its members, the concept of formal social security is unknown, except among the minority employed in the organized sector, who get maternity and sickness benefits either from their employer or from the Employees State Insurance Corporation. Rising costs of living have gradually eliminated the traditional readiness of the family, kin groups or neighbours to come to the rescue of distressed households, or of old, sick and disadvantaged individuals.

Guided by the TLA, Sewa established the Women's Sewa Trust to extend minimum security to its members. The Trust has developed three welfare schemes.

The first of these is maternity benefit. On payment of Rs.15 a pregnant woman receives ante-natal care, confinement by a qualified medical worker, and Rs.51 to enable her to rest for a few days after childbirth and obtain additional nutrition and medicines. Sewa workers visit throughout the period of rest. Denial of this benefit to mothers of three children is intended as an incentive for family planning which has not been particularly successful so far.

The second is widowhood and death benefit. In order to identify the health problems of members and their families, Sewa conducted a health survey, with the help of 40 volunteers from the All-India Medical Association. Sewa members paid Rs.5 each, Sewa Trust meeting the rest of the expenditure. A health insurance scheme is to be prepared on the basis of the report of this survey. Some short-term training of traditional midwives (who generally attend Sewa members) in better and safer methods has been conducted. Introduction of brakes in handcarts has lowered the pulse-rate of women handcart pullers.

The third scheme is the provision of day-care centres. Widely welcomed by Sewa members, this network of low-cost neighbourhood centres is the beginning of a scheme which Sewa intends to expand, both to help its members and to open new employment to other women and young girls.

A housing saving scheme has also been started to round off the basic needs. When the Gujarat State Housing Board suggested that housing sites should be allocated to male heads of households, the women objected. If they were going to save towards a house, why should ownership be vested in husbands or fathers-in-law who might turn the women out at some date?

The second group of problems arose from these women's low status in society. Municipal officials and policemen were inclined to push women around, denying them permission to practise their trade regularly at fixed centres. Licences were refused, bribes were demanded, and goods confiscated to punish them for selling their wares on the pavements near a market. Sewa fell back on a massive demonstration of Gandhian *satyagraha*, with five thousand women protesting before the municipality's offices. The municipality conceded the women's right to occupy half the pavement to ply their trade. Group leaders were elected to maintain discipline and enforce the arrangement negotiated with the municipality. Today a Sewa membership card ensures for a woman freedom from harassment by both police and municipal workers.

Ninety-eight per cent of the women were illiterate, but they would not agree to attend literacy classes which they considered a waste of time. They were adults, with practical experience of market operation, and plenty of shrewdness. Gujarat University's Adult Education Centre, after considerable hesitation, agreed to run a ten-day course on 'Structure and behaviour of the modern market economy', using cardboard models to suit their illiterate students. The first batch of reluctant students, coaxed to attend by Sewa's staff, turned into enthusiastic and keen participants of an experiment that the university faculty now admits to have been memorable for themselves. Literacy became somewhat more palatable to the women after that experience. Other training programmes have been in health, nutrition, simple technology for junksmiths, child care and family planning, infant care, and home nursing (to start a new occupational group). Above all, constant discussions on problems of women's status have made Sewa's members far more aware of current problems, including the declining sex ratio, than most of the educated women in India. There is a new urge among the group leaders for education, and a teacher has been engaged at their request. Wife beating has declined markedly, and group leaders report reduction of caste rigidity and views on the 'proper role' of young women in their own homes. The members also say that their participation in family decision making has increased significantly. Sewa membership recognition by banks, the press and the government has raised these women's status in their own eyes and in those of their families and neighbours. Some husbands have asked why they cannot become members.

Originally an organization of urban working women, Sewa now includes a few rural groups also—agricultural labourers, handloom weavers, firewood collectors etc. For each group, problems are identified through simple surveys and consultations, and action-decisions are taken by members themselves. Sewa members sit on the Board of Directors of the Sewa Bank, on its various committees, and are treated as equals—for their maturity, independence, caustic humour, realism and practicality. Group leaders elected by members sometimes become members of Sewa's small staff and facilitate the relationship of familiarity and closeness between the staff and members. Sewa, and the Bank, are regarded by the women as their own institutions, where they can bring their problems, fears, tensions, hopes and aspirations, as well as their curiosity and their desire for some fun and entertainment.

Having emphasized the need for practical action-oriented activities so far, Sewa is now trying to organize a critical examination of the structure and linkages of urban poverty and their perception by official authorities on the one hand and by the poor on the other. The intention is to increase the women's understanding of the sources of their and others' problems, as well as to sharpen Sewa's own perspectives.

Case Study 3: Nutrition Education in Bendel State, Nigeria

In terms of content and size of programmes, health education ranks alongside agricultural education as a major component of existing non-formal education. And, of course, it has its origins much earlier in time than the non-formal idea itself.

The programme of dietetic treatment and follow-up for children suffering from protein/calorie malnutrition started in Benin City in 1968. It is organized by the Nutrition Unit of the Bendel State Extension Services (Ministry of Health) and includes both nutrition education and the economic rehabilitation of parents and guardians. The population of the State's whole area is some 3.5 million.

The Nutrition Unit in Benin City, the Nutrition Centre in the Nigerian Institute for Oil-Palm Research (NIFOR), the Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre of Unoghovo and the nutrition outpost of Onicha-Olona are the main Centres for the Programme; in other areas the rural and urban health centres and sub-centres are used.

The Nutrition Unit was formerly aided by UNICEF. The State Information Department takes photographs of cases and publishes educational posters and booklets based on materials supplied by the Nutrition Unit. All the hospitals refer cases to the Nutrition Unit for education, follow-up and rehabilitation.

Objectives and Programme

The main objectives of the programme are to decongest the hospitals and to treat cases of protein—calorie malnutrition effectively by a combination of measures (dietetic treatment, follow-up, nutrition education and economic rehabilitation) to prevent recurrence either in treated cases or further occurrences among other children of the same household.

Children suffering from kwashiorkor and marasmus are referred from the various hospitals. Detailed investigation is carried out by clinical and anthropometric means to find out the cause of malnutrition. The diet is prescribed—a high protein diet for kwashiorkor and a balanced diet for marasmus. The parents or guardians who bring the children participate actively in the preparation of therapeutic diets and local balanced diets for the children under the guidance of nutritionists, public health nurses, sanitarians and nutrition assistants.

The curative effects of the clean, balanced and varied meals is clearly seen by the parents as the children respond dramatically to diet treatment during the first 28 days of compulsory and active food demonstration and counselling daily. A medical doctor with experience or training in public health and nutrition comes occasionally to treat associated medical ailments such as diarrhoea, cough, open sores or pneumonia. At the same time the homes of mothers are visited to seek the co-operation of other members of the family to find ways of abolishing cultural and environmental factors which cause occurrences and recurrences of malnutrition.

Thereafter effort is made to combat low income which is the major causative and recurrent factor. To this end the mothers are involved in income-earning activities chosen from the ones they have observed taking place in the Unit. These activities include farming in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Garden, sewing in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre, cookery lessons, baking of local cakes, traditional catering and hairdressing. Mothers prefer occupations which do not require a long period of training before yielding income and which can take off with little capital investment. The training in income-earning activities is free to mothers. Free land space and limited agricultural inputs are available to mothers who wish to grow crops in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Gardens. The training goes on both during and after the child has fully recovered. The Ministry of Agriculture co-operates by providing the necessary assistance.

In order to extend nutrition activities and to increase the sources of supply of patients, nurse nutritionists based in the Nutrition Unit visit other hospitals where serious cases of malnutrition are being treated and discuss nutritional problems with mothers and nurses. Periodically a house-to-house campaign is carried out to asses the nutritional status of children and to treat the obvious or sub-clinical cases.

Evaluation and Reporting Procedures

Success is shown by pictorial records of children taken before, during and after diet treatment, education, follow-up and rehabilitation. The mainstay of the programme is the nutrition rehabilitation programme which improves the income and diet of the affected families. Records of heights and weight, skinfold and circumferences of head, chest and arm are taken at the start and thereafter every three days. The family diet is surveyed and advice given on ways to improve it. The environmental situation is assessed and corrections are suggested. These base-line data form the bases of evaluation. Victims of malnutrition are followed up until they attain school age and thereafter the school health unit and the school authorities take over the continued care of the child; the Nutrition Unit continues to show interest in the child's performance at school.

Problems

Shortage of personnel, funds, transport and equipment is a major constraint. The victims of P-C.M. are usually in the low income group and the success of treatment depends on availability of resources. Effective follow-up is very important for regular clinic attendance, correction of faulty habits at home and quick recovery; for this enough transport facilities have to be made available. The rehabilitation programme and its assessment and subsequent evaluation depend on money, land space and income-improvement training facilities. Accommodation is inadequate. The only solution is to make money and materials available from the already overspent resources of the government.

Plans for the Future

There is a proposal to train more nutrition personnel in order to have a nutrition officer for each of the 19 local government areas of the State. It is also planned to post a Nutrition Officer to each of the five major hospitals with paediatric and obstetric units. All the urban and rural health centres and sub-centres will in future have nutrition rehabilitation gardens for demonstration and for cultivation by mothers who require economic rehabilitation. Already several thousand kgs. of vegetables are harvested annually from the gardens.

Arrangements are being made to build the Nutrition Unit Headquarters on the outskirts of Benin City, and three nutrition rehabilitation centres in the three 1966 Nutrition Survey sample villages of Unoghovo, Egware-Ewu and Umuidi-Ibusa. It is proposed to recruit more nutrition assistants so that each of the health centres will have at least one.

There is need for additional sponsored training of at least 20 public health and nurse nutritionists. At least ten dieticians and five medical nutritionists are also needed within the next ten years. Further, there is need to introduce adult literacy programmes in the interests of women who cannot read or write to make the programme strictly functional; a pilot programme in ten villages is currently in progress.

The whole programme enjoys the patronage of many educational and professional institutions in Nigeria such as the College of Medicine of the University of Benin, Schools of Nursing, Midwifery and Health Technology. The programme has attracted to the Nutrition Unit medical and paramedical students doing practical studies as well as research students from inside and outside Nigeria.

Case Study 4: The Buffalo Breeders of Bankhedi, India

In our last case study we return to the theme of political will and political commitment. In the aftermath of colonial domination there may still be a social and economic system in operation which 'allows free play to the powerful and influential groups—the capitalists, landlords, politicians, civil servants, etc. —to determine the course of development. They have a vested interest in the maintenance of the existing class (and in the Indian situation, caste) relationship. An effective system co-ordinating non-formal education and development could disturb this relationship.'[18]

But in India, for example, these vested interests are becoming conscious that the existing class (and caste) relationships cannot be sustained in their present form. Alarms are being sounded all the time, in the countryside as well as in the cities. Efforts are therefore being made to examine how programmes for the reduction of inequality can be organized, to what extent financial investments might be diverted for genuine improvement in the lot of the poorer sections of society, and in what manner educational opportunity can be extended to the groups who have remained excluded from it. A determined effort in the direction of redistributive justice has been made in India's Plan for 1978 – 83.[19]

Anil Bordia* notes that:

> Incorporation of non-formal education as an input in development has two meanings. The first is a realization that without education the 'beneficiaries' may remain unconcerned with a particular development programme. For example, any programme of land reform which does not fully inform and educate the potential 'beneficiaries' is likely to consolidate the position of the big landlords and cause further deprivation to the small farmers and landless tillers. The second is acceptance of non-formal education as the method of development with the corollary that what is conveyed to the 'beneficiaries' is not merely material inputs but an understanding of the process of development with emphasis on self-reliance. These factors would necessitate taking a number of steps in the management of development, including the following:
>
> (a) Practically every development agency will have a direct interest in non-formal education as against the present all too common situation where it is the exclusive concern of the educational authority.
>
> (b) Extension responsibility would be placed in the hands of non-professionals—it would be demystified. The training of the extension personnel would include the fundamentals of non-formal education.
>
> (c) The extension literature—including the various forms, statements and rules—would be rewritten to make them understandable by persons with elementary literacy skills.

It would be too optimistic to expect the interdependence and mutuality of non-formal education and development to be easily accepted by the political and administrative groups in most developing countries. Apart from the basic problem to which reference has been made earlier, namely the difficulty with which the influential sections of society will allow a change in the system, political convictions in favour of such arrangements will come but slowly. From a practical point of view, therefore, it is necessary to examine the possible alternatives. Two main alternatives can be visualized.

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*The views expressed here are those of Anil Bordia personally and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India.

The first of these is that of giving to non-formal education functionary developmental responsibility. In such a situation the non-formal education organizer at the village level would be the main village extension worker. Such workers need not be very highly paid; indeed they need not be full-time workers. An interesting experiment being tried by Seva Mandir, Udaipur is the use of peer-group leaders as co-ordinators of all development activity. Though they are basically non-formal education workers, they secure for the village the services of the various extension inputs.[20]

The second alternative is the co-operative functioning of non-formal education and development workers. Under this arrangement the non-formal education centre provides the focal point for the various development functionaries. To begin with, activities which naturally bring people together are organized. These include cultural activities, sports and recreation, radio and television, clubs, etc. Literacy and political discussions find their place when the participants are interested in them. Village health visitors, agriculture extension workers, co-operative inspectors, etc. use this centre for extension of their programmes.[21]

The critical structures for co-ordination in both these models are the lowest-level development and administration units. In India these units are known as community development blocks and revenue districts. The primary responsibility for co-ordination has to rest with the Block Development Officer and the District Development Officer. These persons must set up effective committees which would meet regularly and ensure that bottlenecks are removed. To provide necessary administrative and political support, counterpart committees would have to be set up at the provincial and the national level.

Some of the problems faced by non-formal educators in rural development are illustrated in the following study.

Day-break in Bankhedi

Bankhedi is a small railway station in central India. There is a village by the same name about one mile from the railway station. The land is black cotton soil, with two-thirds of the village cultivable land under irrigation. Of the 260 families of the village, about 10% own 50% of the irrigated land, another 40% of the families have small irrigated land holdings of up to two hectares. The remaining 50% of the population is further divided into three groups: (a) about 20% agriculturists with unirrigated land; (b) about 15% non-tribal agricultural labourers; and (c) 15% tribals whose source of income was collection of raw lac, which used to be sold to the local money-lenders. With the depletion of forests this source of income is disappearing.

Three miles from Bankhedi village is an organization of educated young persons—Kishore Bharati—committed to social change and rural development. Kishore Bharati (KB), was established at Bankhedi in 1972, by a visionary young scientist, Dr. Anil Sadgopal. KB began by improving science teaching in the local elementary schools but soon took an interest in the construction of wells and in non-formal education. During their discussions with the tribal families they discovered their plight—100 per cent illiteracy; no land; their skills in the collection of raw lac no more able to feed the families; and deep indebtedness to the local money-lenders.

In 1974, 16 families of these tribals agreed to seek loans for purchase of a buffalo each. The efforts to persuade the local village credit co-operative society yielded little result. Formation of a separate co-operative society was discouraged. A young venturesome bank agent at the CD block headquarters, about 40 kms from Bankhedi, offered easy credit for the purchase of 16 buffaloes.

Several days were spent to decide on the most suitable buffaloes. Eventually a decision was taken by the families themselves in favour of a local breed. Each of these buffaloes yields approximately 16 litres of milk per day.

Cattle feeding turned out to be a serious problem. The village grazing ground, a large track of 200 hectares, was available for grazing only to persons who had three head of cattle or more. This was pointed out as an age-old village custom. Discussions with the local Panchayat were fruitless. An approach to the administrative machinery was equally sterile. This led to much disappointment and frustration. At one stage the families decided to sell the cattle. But that would have enabled them to repay only half of the loan which they had taken: to pay the rest they would have lost whatever meagre possessions they had. The young bank agent and the KB workers spent several hours discussing the problems of dealing with administrative machinery and the local village institutions. The Revenue Law governing grazing lands was referred to, and it was decided to obtain an injunction from the Civil-Revenue Courts. This worked, and the grazing lands were opened even to families who possessed only one head of cattle.

At about this stage the families decided to systematically begin literacy learning, and began with arithmetic. They began by maintaining accounts of their milk sales. But the sale of milk was full of problems.

Milk had to be transported every day by four persons at the block headquarters where it was sold at the government dairy collection centre. Payment of the full rail-fare substantially reduced the small margin of profit. Even though very small, the repayment of the loan also had to be made. An appeal was made to the local railway authorities to provide the prescribed railway concession. There was no response. There were recurring problems in loading of cans. Eventually, the 16 buffalo breeders formed a delegation and decided to meet the Divisional Railway Superintendent at Jabalpur, an expensive rail journey from Bankhedi. The meeting lasted only four minutes, and yielded nothing. The buffalo breeders had several rounds of discussion with KB workers and other sympathetic village youth. By now the woes and welfare of these buffalo breeders had become the concern of a number of other village youth. It was decided that one person from each of these families, and 16 other youths would offer non-violent *satyagraha* (struggle for truth) at the Bankhedi railway station. Three days of this *satyagraha* and some publicity secured them the necessary railway concession.

About 60 families now have one or more buffaloes. Bankhedi has become in the last four years, an important milk producing centre. The government dairy has established a milk collection centre in the village. A veterinary dispensary is being built by the manual labour of the villagers themselves. They are now confident that the government will have to sanction a dispensary to them. The struggles for grazing rights and the railway concession, along with the systematization of their experiences organized with the help of the KB workers and the young bank agent, have transformed the lives of the villagers of Bankhedi.

APPENDICES

1. Study-Service: A Practical Interaction of Formal and Non-Formal Education (Diana Fussell and Andrew Quarmby)

Various resources are needed for the successful development of non-formal education—effective techniques, manpower, funds, organization and political backing. These are not easy to acquire, particularly for an educational approach which rarely produces spectacular results, and which ministers to a constituency that includes many people (e.g. drop-outs and adult illiterates) whose voices usually have little political weight. One effective form of non-formal education, known as study-service, has the potential to be a vehicle for other forms of non-formal education. It can supply large quantities of manpower and ready-made organization and attract the political backing that can result in appropriate priority in the allocation of resources.

The term 'study-service' was coined as recently as 1972, for an educational technique which existed long before. In fact, study-service is as old as education itself, but was gradually eclipsed as education increasingly became 'schooling'. However, the past 15 years have seen it re-invented and re-introduced into education systems in a growing number of countries. This paper concerns itself only with study-service as it is developing in Third World countries.

Nepal's National Study-Service Scheme

Since 1974 all degree-level students at Nepal's national and only university have been required to satisfactorily complete a year of village-level community development service in (usually remote) rural areas before being allowed to begin their final year of academic study. This scheme is known as the National Development Service (NDS). NDS is a requirement also for foreign students at the University and for Nepalese nationals returning from study abroad (where their courses were locally available), and the requirement is enforced without exceptions. Each participating student works under university and local supervision, partly as a teacher in a rural secondary school and partly as a general community development worker in the surrounding community, using the school as a base and the school children as assistants.

Activities include health and nutrition education, reforestation campaigns, adult literacy teaching, improving sanitation, water supplies, tracks, bridges, schools, family planning promotion, agricultural and horticultural demonstrations and mobilizing local resources of funds, materials and voluntary manpower for community projects. Almost all of these involve villagers in non-formal or informal education in some way. In all activities, participants must work with and through local leaders, including the headmaster and village head, involving any extension workers from development agencies who are within reach.

Priority in location is given to the remotest and least developed parts of Nepal. Male participants usually live and work one or two per village, and female participants two or three. Assignment to home areas is not allowed and locations are drawn by ballot to avoid pressures from influential parents. Initially, cultural mores created parental pressures that kept almost all female participants within the Kathmandu Valley, but resistance gradually evaporated and now female participants serve increasingly in remote areas.

Participants receive a monthly living allowance, ranging from NRs 300—450 (US$ 25—37.50) depending on local living costs, a one-time clothing-equipment allowance, free medical treatment, accident insurance, and return travel to their assigned villages. The NDS estimates its current overall cost, including administration, as approximately NRs 7,800 per student per year or NRs 780 (US$ 65) per student for each of the ten months the students work in the villages (training and travel consume the remaining two months). The budget comes from the Education Ministry via the University budget. There has been limited international aid (mostly from UNICEF) for supplementary needs.

Participants receive a mixture of theoretical and practical training, usually given in or near Kathmandu before the trainees have any experience of their new role. Training is one of the weakest aspects of NDS. Field support and guidance by NDS staff (supplementing locally available support) has also been very weak but is now improving with the recruitment and special training of ex-participants as staff.

The NDS evaluates each participant through reports from the headmaster, the District Education Officer and visiting NDS staff, and a comparative grading is made. Another weak aspect of the NDS—this questionable attempt to transfer the conventional academic grading system into the study-service context—has produced unfortunate distorting effects, making some students more responsive in their work to a grading-points list prepared in Kathmandu than they are to the actual needs of the village. The aim has always been to have NDS service eventually at the diploma level (after three years of higher education) but it was introduced first at the degree level (after five years) to allow experience to be gained and staff to be trained with the smaller student numbers at that level.

From 212 participants in 1974, the NDS has grown with the University until approximately 800 students per year now serve, and soon service will move down the higher education pyramid by two years with more than 3,000 students serving each year. In a country of 13 million people and 4,000 village areas, this represents a very significant manpower input into rural development.

The NDS is an integral part of Tribhuvan University. It is run by a directorate of full-time staff supplemented by seconded lecturers. The Director reports to the NDS Committee which consists of Deans and Government Department representatives chaired by the Rector (Deputy Vice-Chancellor). The National Education Committee (the Vice-Chancellor is a member) has the final responsibility for policy.

Complementary and Overlapping Objectives

The NDS costs money to run; its introduction was highly controversial; why did the Government and University introduce it?

The students' education was very academic and theoretical, containing substantial foreign-influenced material of questionable relevance to Nepal's needs. Many students graduated with attitudes, expectations and abilities divorced from Nepal's social, economic and political realities, and this contributed to increasing graduate unemployment. It was hoped that NDS service would add practical, Nepal-oriented education and help produce more useful and realistic graduates. Partly as a result of this problem, Nepal lacked educated manpower able *and willing* to undertake rural development tasks, particularly in remote areas where facilities were even more scarce. It was hoped that the NDS would provide student manpower to work in rural areas on a relay basis, replaced year by year. Many changes were desired for the University (e.g. in course content, teaching methods, and relationship to national development efforts) and conventional methods for bringing about these changes showed little potential for success. It was hoped that study-service would be a forceful change in itself and also that it would help create an environment conducive to other changes.

It was hoped that the NDS would create greater national unity through students working among people with cultures often very different from their own, and that people in remote areas would begin to feel more a part of Nepal. And it was hoped that NDS service would produce future national leaders with a practical understanding of the realities of villages (the base of Nepalese economic, social and political life) gained by wrestling with village problems—a practical understanding not possessed by some of their predecessors. It was also hoped that the NDS would improve the increasingly tense relationship between students and Government and diffuse potential confrontation.

Planning and Introducing the Service

In 1973, a team headed by the then Vice-Chancellor produced a detailed working plan* which remains the basis of the NDS's operations. Some aspects have been closely followed, but in others the NDS deviated from the plan. However, in most cases it is steadily returning to it as a result of experience, making this plan a useful reference document in that it has been thoroughly field-tested.

In the first year the scheme was introduced it faced some difficulties. For example, participants were assigned as schoolteachers only—a limited role offering little challenge or satisfaction. In addition, NDS became a pawn in a far wider political struggle and was introduced amid controversy. But in the second year, participants were sent to remote areas as priority and their assignments were changed to the present dual teaching and community development

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**A Working Design for the Creation of the National Development Service*, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 1973.

role. They began to experience challenge and satisfaction, their attitudes to the scheme changed markedly and this influenced pre-service students and also faculty members. The NDS quite rapidly changed from being a controversial embarrassment into one of the success stories of Nepal's recent development, strongly supported from many quarters, including some that were initially very negative.

Indications of Impact

The NDS's full impact is too complex and intangible to easily identify and describe and clearly much of this impact will develop further, but there are already strong indicators.

The Villages

Government Departments receive from their extension offices reports of increased workloads as a result of requests from villages where NDS participants serve (the elusive 'pull from below' that development planners seek but rarely achieve). It is acknowledged that the speed of development of the 'Panchayat Sector' (local development) of the National Development Plan is now clearly linked to the presence of NDS participants.

Villagers, slow at first to understand and appreciate the NDS, are now highly appreciative, particularly of the comparative lack of self-interest of participants. (One villager's comment on the NDS—as reported in the recent IDRC-sponsored research study-service—was: 'They plant trees the fruit of which they do not take and make tracks on which they do not travel.') Villagers increasingly press local political leaders and locally assigned officials to emulate the students, with the result that the NDS's leadership, in order to head off jealousy problems, is now urging participants to keep low profiles and to work through local leaders with shared credit.

The Students and University

Lecturers report that participants return more mature and serious about their studies, and that course content of questionable relevance to the Nepalese situation faces increasing challenges in the lecture room. (Some lecturers have even asked if they too can be given similar exposure). This informal feedback and change process is now being supplemented formally by curriculum review workshops involving returned participants and relevant faculty members.

Student-Government Relationships

The increasingly tense relationship between students and Government has changed steadily since 1975 into a positive, constructive partnership in development, with increased mutual respect. Students have found that fostering change in conservative rural areas is harder than it appeared from the classroom and they are therefore more tolerant of the Government's limitations. Government officials appear to respect students more for having gone to remote areas and tried, and for having achieved and learned so much in the process. The students still criticize, but their criticisms are more mature and better received, instead of being dismissed as the words of children without practical experience, or as the echos of politicians.

The more constructive student-Government relationship is one important result, as is the fact that all future graduate Government officials, lecturers, teachers, business people and politicians, in fact most future national leaders at many levels in many fields, will have had the profoundly educative experience of a year in village-level development service.

That the Government values highly these effects is well illustrated. Nepal, one of the world's poorest countries, has a small development budget under constant demand, yet the NDS has always received ample funding from the Government. A cost-benefit analysis in 1977 of a sample of NDS participants' activities indicated a 4:1 return, counting measurable results only, disregarding many of the most important effects which are unquantifiable. One may doubt the accuracy of this economist's tool in measuring returns from activities with effects as complex and diffuse as those of the NDS, but there is ample informal evidence that returns are very high—probably far higher than 4:1.

Weaknesses and Strengths

The NDS is as yet far from ideal. Its weaknesses are numerous, particularly regarding training, field support and guidance, grading, and integration with the academic parts of the curriculum. But they are readily acknowledged by the leadership, which is working to overcome them. That it has been able to achieve these results, despite its weaknesses, its small size and its newness, reflects a choice of basic policies and methods that were appropriate for releasing the dynamism inherent in study-service.

University students, treated as children by the education system for the previous fifteen to twenty years, expected to listen passively with their initiative and responsibility dormant or even discouraged, are suddenly, through study-service, treated as adults, confronted with the great challenge of real development needs of real people, and expected to work to help meet them. The great majority of students respond strongly and positively, and it is this powerful, dynamic release into practical action of previously smothered idealism, motivation and creative energy that sustains study-service in the face of difficulties and allows it to achieve its effects despite great weaknesses in such things as training and field support.

Study-Service as Non-Formal Education

Study-service is capable of initiating and supporting many different forms of non-formal education largely because it is an effective form of non-formal education in itself.

Participating students are available to initiate or support such non-formal education activities as adult literacy teaching, family planning promotion, health, nutrition and sanitation education, conservation, reforestation and other environmental education, and agricultural extension work. And while study-service clearly works best with general assignments, within that framework participants can be aimed at specific targets (e.g. creating work opportunities for school drop-outs and giving them the non-formal training to match).

Productive Interaction

Even more important can be the impact of study-service on formal education. For example, it provides a constant interaction between formal and non-formal education at the university level and changes occurring in Nepal's Tribhuvan University testify to the power of this interaction.

Where participants are assigned in the dual role developed by Nepal's NDS, the interaction takes place at the school level too, with similar effects. Participants, by involving their school pupils in the community development side of their assignments (e.g. helping dig pit latrines, making tree nurseries at schools and transplanting tree seedlings, improving water supplies, etc.) help inject frequently rigid, academic and often irrelevant curricula with elements of practical non-formal education relevant to village life.

A less obvious but very important informal educational effect is achieved by the mere presence in villages of study-service participants. The long-established concept of education as a one-way street out of village life into prestigious urban employment has been automatically reinforced in children's minds as they never see graduates return to the village, except as failures or perhaps as teachers (who are themselves an important part of the one-way street system). Now, for the first time in Nepal, children see university graduates initiate and participate in practical work in the villages, not as failures, *but as part of their success role*. The effects of this informal educational aspect of study-service, when reinforced over the years, may have profound effects on children's attitudes to and expectations from education.

A Vehicle for Other Non-Formal Education

Because of its effectiveness in simultaneously meeting many different needs, some of them with high political value, study-service can attract very strong support, from a wide range of sources (e.g. education reformers, rural development planners and those concerned with national political development). It is this aspect of study-service which has perhaps the greatest potential value for the development of non-formal education.

To set up specific programmes on non-formal education to effectively reach large numbers of people usually requires heavy investment of funds and extensive organizational resources, and many non-formal education techniques are not yet always capable of attracting the strong support needed to get these resources allocated. Therefore, in the increasing number of countries where the context is ripe for it, a desirable strategy may be to encourage the establishment of study-service (with its potential to attract strong and wide support, including political support) and then to use the established study-service scheme as a vehicle or manpower source for many other forms of non-formal education.

Study-Service in Commonwealth Countries

While Britain, Canada and New Zealand are among the First World countries developing study-service activities, three non-Commonwealth countries, Ethiopia, Indonesia and Nepal, have done most to pioneer study-service in the Third World.

Several Commonwealth countries, particularly Bangladesh, Malaysia, Lesotho and Fiji, may develop significant study-service schemes shortly. Nigeria's proposed study-service scheme became in fact a post-graduation national service scheme, which is producing some results, but which lacks many of the effects of study-service. For example, there is no feedback into the education system, and universities and student-Government relationships remain largely unaffected.

Ghana, too, created a post-graduation national service scheme but, because of poor results, this is now being extensively reviewed and a change to study-service is one alternative. In India, following earlier, similar recommendations, the 1964–66 Education Commission recommended a form of national study-service but all that had developed so far is the National Service Scheme, which allows some students to give 120 hours of service per year, either part-time or through vacation work-camps. Given its very limited form, results and effects are understandably very limited too, and attempts to develop a more significant form have often floundered through weak Federal-State co-ordination.

International agencies as well as individual countries have also shown growing interest in study-service. Organizations such as UNDP-UNV, the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Development Research Centre, World University Service and the Ford Foundation have given support in different ways. UNICEF stands out for its interest and political support, while UNESCO is now becoming involved, and the Commonwealth has supported interest in Fiji and appears open to further requests in this field.

Suggestions for Practical Action

This raises the question of what international support is needed, particularly as all significant study-service schemes so far have been conceived by their countries' own nationals and developed with strong internal support and limited international assistance.

It is clear that to be effective study-service must take a form that a country can support from its own resources, so international funding for basic costs is not realistic, although some supporting elements (e.g. consultative services, specialized training) could be internationally funded without undermining study-service schemes. What is greatly needed is increased exchange of information and experience. Some specific needs are:

(a) The compilation and publication of in-depth case studies of significant study-service schemes, and studies comparing study-service with other forms of service schemes (e.g. conventional voluntary service, national service for school leavers and drop-outs, and post-graduation national service schemes).

(b) Other publications on study-service (e.g. a 'reader' containing edited existing short articles by different authors on various aspects of study-service, and a booklet summarizing what conclusions of practical value can be drawn from study-service experience so far).

(c) Exchange visits and study-tours to allow people concerned with the development of study-service to observe it in action in other countries.

(d) Practical field-oriented international training courses for the staff members of study-service schemes.

There is no shortage of work to be done that would greatly help the development of study-service and thereby the development of non-formal education.

2. The District Development Centre: A Pilot Project in Integrated Education for Rural Development (Tom Mulusa)

The District Development Centre attempts to give relevant education for development to the rural people of Kenya. In addition, it tries to integrate the educational programmes of all rural development agencies. When it is fully developed the DDC is expected to take over the functions of two existing institutions—the Farmers' Training Centre and the Community Development Training Centre. Both of these have played important roles in rural training schemes in Kenya. They have operated within the framework of two broad goals of education for development: first, that education should be relevant to Kenya's economic and social development, and second, that education should be provided within the limited resources of the country.

The District Development Centre is a multi-purpose training centre which offers a broader range of courses than the two kinds of institutions that preceded it. The additional courses cover non-agricultural adult education programmes. Two former Farmers' Training Centres at Embu and Matuga have been converted into DDCs in a pilot project for the new Centres, scheduled to start operating during the 1974 – 78 development period.

Goals

The Board of Adult Education which is responsible for setting up the DDC programme has outlined the short-term and long-term goals of the curriculum as follows:

Short-term Objectives

1. To co-ordinate rural informal educational activities through an integrated approach combining extension and complementary services and linking related elements of education together so that their impact can be greater.

2. To determine priorities of training for the community in both formal and non-formal education and to encourage educational activities so as to function as an apex body for rural adult education.

3. To provide in-service facilities for extension staff of different arms of the government and voluntary organizations and simultaneously to provide training and education for the farmers, artisans, craftsmen and entrepreneurs for better occupational skills and to complement such skills with services like those of co-operatives, literacy campaigns, youth clubs, etc.

4. To encourage the development and continuity of education from formal and informal levels to non-formal levels.

5. To provide the venue and adequate facilities for organizing educational and cultural classes, club meetings, national festivals, etc. and also to promote cordial human relations among the masses and extension workers and to create a group feeling among junior and senior civil servants and the masses in the interest of easy communications.

6. To involve the local community in planning, implementation and participation in development-oriented activities of the area and the centre, and thereby encourage citizen participation in the process of rural development,

developing among the rural people the understanding, skills and, above all, the dedication and enthusiasm for rural development.

7. To support the above objectives by developing course contents, teaching materials and techniques of adult education adapted to the local community traditions and customs.

Long-term Objectives

1. To promote economic well-being, by improving occupational skills; social well-being by promoting cordial relationship among members of the group and among groups; cultural uplift by reviving cultural activities and in general to improve the quality of life in rural areas.

2. To mobilize the resources and human energies by the expansion of non-formal education for development of rural areas.

3. To assess the impact of the DDC in the rural counties as a result of an integrated approach to training.

4. To slow down the rural-urban migration of youth by providing the unemployed with immediate employment opportunities through training for occupational skills.

5. To evolve an attractive career structure for adult educators and trainers at rural training institutions for adults.

6. To develop a viable research system to produce teaching materials and to improve techniques of teaching adults.

7. To evolve a comprehensive administrative and financial structure for Kenya's rural training centres.

The course contents presented in the standard curriculum are intended to provide a working framework for DDC trainers, and other adult educators who may find the document useful in their work. The final training packages to be used by DDC staff in specific situations will, however, be based on the needs of course participants.

Each training course should preferably focus on one subject area, and related topics within a subject should be arranged in a logical sequence with all the subsidiary interests integrated into the main theme so as to form a consummate whole. In practice it is not possible to give all relevant topics equal treatment in a curriculum. The trainers should select what topics are to be covered and/or emphasized. In some cases the environment of the DDC and the course participants should determine the importance of different curriculum contents within a training package.

The immediate needs of course participants should form the starting point in curriculum development and all aspects of a selected subject should be covered. For example, in a course on coffee production the farmers should cover growing, processing, marketing and all the significant aspects of its production. This at times will involve integrating functional areas of different government ministries and development agencies in the same training package, and using experts from different areas of specialization in one class session (team teaching).

Timing of courses should take into account the seasonal needs of participants. A course on the use of fertilizer, for instance, should be mounted just before the planting season so that participants can follow it up with practical application of the skills and knowledge they have acquired.

While members of the DDC staff are assumed to be well trained in the subjects they teach and have long experience in handling learning groups, they should draw on additional experience and expertise from field workers to bridge the gap between institutional training and field work. When extension workers attend a course, their seniors should be brought in on the staff, and similarly when farmers attend a course the extension staff who supervise farmers' activities in the field should join the DDC training team.

For illiterate learners the lessons must be made practical, using field visits, group discussions, audio-visual aids and practical demonstrations. Where participants have a working knowledge of Kiswahili (the national language) vernacular should be discouraged as many extension workers use Kiswahili and instructions on packets of farm inputs are often given in English and Kiswahili.

All DDC staff should work as a team to promote integration of educational contents from different disciplines and to guard against duplication of effort and discontinuity between related educational contents.

Courses should be based on the following order of training priority: (a) training of trainers and extension workers; (b) leadership training; (c) programmes for actual doers of the work concerned (target population); (d) emergent programmes; (e) programmes necessary according to development plans; and (f) co-ordination of programmes among Farmers Training Centres and Community Development Training Centres, etc. Trainers at the DDC should devise method of receiving feedback from field workers and course participants and conducting frequent evaluation of the effectiveness of DDC programmes.

The DDC should concentrate on non-formal education for 'wananchi' (the people) and act as service centres for government ministries and non-government organizations which require training facilities and resources. But DDCs should not take full responsibility for staff training or in-service training for a specific government ministry of any other development agency. The professionals within government and non-government development agencies know best what their training needs are.

Five broad categories of course participants are envisaged: (a) occupational groups (farmers, traders, industrial employees, etc.); (b) salaried staff (from government and non-government organizations); (c) extension staff (those at the front line contact with the people); (d) women (community leaders, housewives, etc.); and (e) youth (secondary school leavers, sportsmen, etc.). These have to be broken down to sub-groups with specific needs. Farmers within the occupational group, for instance, can further be sub-divided into large-scale farmers or small-scale farmers, and small-scale farmers can be subdivided into coffee planters, poultry-keepers, etc. The categories given above are intended to help the planners and trainers to give due attention to the needs of each category separately. The grouping is not water-tight. The division is based on the functional needs of participants. Each participant will have several functions overlapping (e.g. a housewife may be a community leader and poultry farmer).

Extension workers are grouped separately from salaried workers to highlight the need to provide them with specific skills motivating people to participate in development, and for extension workers themselves to get into the habit of integrating their activities or projects into the total fabric of development programmes.

Youth, according to the DDC programmes, are those between the age of 15 and 35. As a group, they need special attention because many are not gainfully employed, a large number lack skills for earning a living, while those in employment need relevant education for adjustment to changing circumstances in their occupations.

Women have an important role in development especially in the rural areas where they form the bulk of the labour force. Women need to catch up on the education they missed during their youth because of the discrimination against them in the formal education system and the great responsibilities they shoulder as mothers and instructors of the youth. Unless women are specifically mentioned as a distinct group, there is a danger of trainers and extension workers assuming that terms like 'farmer' and 'trader' refer to men, and thus excluding women from essential training courses.

The programme suggested three types of DDC courses: long courses, week-end courses and one-day courses. Long courses are designed for junior government servants, employees of commercial and non-government organizations, and farmers during their off-season periods. They would be few; each would last one week to ten days. The week-end courses are proposed to cater for workers and self-employed persons who cannot afford to leave their occupations or homes for long periods or during working days of the week. They would be very suitable for women, salaried employees, school children and traders. They should, where possible, overlap with the long courses so that participants from the two categories could share experiences through combined lectures, films, panel discussions, demonstrations and study visits. One-day courses are not residential and can be conducted where the participants live. They could be part of a series of topics within a subject area taken over a long time. The main features of the courses are:

(a) The programme gives course outlines for ten-day sessions, each session consisting of about ten lecture hours, two or three study visits, three group discussions and a variety of other activities such as seminars, role play, and demonstrations.

(b) Each lecturer or discussion leader must first introduce himself giving some details of the organization from which he comes.

(c) Topics of common interest such as campaigns on health, traffic, civics, co-operatives and family planning should be related to all the subjects in the course outline and should be done with the support of field experts.

(d) Group building must be done at the outset to break status distinction, bureaucratic superiority and inferiority tones, and rich and poor divisions among members of the group and to introduce them to a helping relationship between members of a group.

The curriculum gives a description of: (a) teaching methods and aids to be used to make DDC programmes effective; (b) suggestions on how to make the programme an example for the people to follow; and (c) how to involve the people in its activities.

Growth of Embu and Matuga District Development Centres

Embu and Matuga DDCs started functioning from July 1976 when the first principals and staff were appointed. At the moment the centres are not confined to the districts in which they are situated. Matuga is serving an area covering eight districts. Similarly, Embu services five districts. The two centres have many features in common and therefore, for our purposes a description of one of them will suffice.

Matuga DDC is run by a Management Committee. This consists of the Provincial Commissioner for the Coast Province and district officials from the departments of Social Services, Agriculture, Health, Education, etc. Since the Management Committee is made up of representatives of all ministries, major decisions affecting non-formal education in the area are dealt with collectively.

Apart from the Management Committee, within the Development Centre itself there are various committees, each charged with the responsibility of developing certain areas of the Centre's activities. The main objective is to involve all members of the teaching staff in contributing ideas for the development of the Centre. The committees deal with recreation and welfare, curriculum development, farm development, editorial and materials production, and co-ordination and finance. Each committee is given powers to co-opt other persons from within and outside the Centre.

Matuga DDC has an administration block, a dining and assembly hall, a workshop, three dormitories for women and two for men participants, four classrooms, a home science room and an audio-visual room (including a darkroom). The Centre has a chicken farm and a hundred-acre farm in which cross-bred cattle are reared. The cattle and the chickens are for demonstration and for improving the stock of the farmers that come for courses at the Centre and for those that live around it. There is also one acre of fruit nursery. The types of fruit nursed are those grown by the ordinary farmers at the coast (e.g. mangoes, oranges, lemons and cashew nuts).

For easy administrative purposes the Centre works in departments, although the idea of an integrated approach is not lost sight of. At present there are 15 members of staff including the principal. The teaching staff cover several areas including health education, agricultural education, co-operative education, business education and community development. There are also day care and teachers' advisory staff. In addition external lecturers and facilitators are often invited wherever the need arises. It is pertinent to point out that each member of staff is qualified in his or her discipline and is required to contribute in that area to as many courses run at the Centre as possible.

The Centre, as mentioned earlier, is used by eight districts in the Coast Province as well as North Eastern Province. During 1977 a total of 82 courses, with a total of 2,161 participants, were organized. These included short courses lasting between one week and three weeks, and a two-year course for Environmental Health Technicians. Besides the courses there were also seminars and meetings lasting half-a-day to a day.

The courses initiated and run by Centre staff were: health education (4); agriculture (4); environmental health (2); co-operative education (2); business education (2); home economics (1); and education and general extension (1); total 16. Those initiated by fieldstaff were: Ministry of Agriculture (10); Ministry of Health (10); Ministry of Housing and Social Services (16); Ministry of Co-operatives (18); Ministry of Education (5); Ministry of Lands and Settlement (2); Ministry of Commerce and Industry (1); Directorate of Personnel Management (Office of the President) (2); National Christian Council of Kenya (1); and University of Nairobi (1); total 66.

With the exception of a few who attend leadership courses, the students at the DDC are low-income rural people. Courses involving women account for over 75 per cent of the total. They include home science economics, day care centres, food handling, family planning, nutrition and child care. Because of the integrated approach to attitudinal change and the adoption of new ideas, no course is left exclusively to itself. Lectures in various disciplines take part in teaching, although the biggest part of each course is spent on the central theme. The Centre has made it a policy that every course that takes place at the Centre will include some element of general agriculture and family planning. Other specialized courses are for committee members, fishermen, businessmen and in first aid, but in these also there are general agriculture and family planning components.

Evaluation

The DDC was set up in response to problems connected with integrating rural non-formal education activities. The DDC was designed to bring together, under one roof, for training purposes, all non-formal education activities in the district. Hitherto these activities had been conducted by the various organizations and even government departments independent of each other. The adjustment now required by these organizations to co-ordinate their training activities at the DDC is taking time and faces a few difficulties. It is still noticeable that when agricultural extension workers come for an agricultural course, they feel reluctant and concerned when some of the time is spent on development planning activities or health or family planning or co-operative education. There seems to be a feeling that 'that is not our concern'. The same attitude can be detected in the sponsors of some of the training programmes.

As much as integration is desirable, if closely applied it may result in inadequate coverage and half-finished tasks. This is because a number of courses are as short as five days. In such a situation the participants may acquire a little knowledge of a number of subjects which may not be of pratical use to them. This is more so because the teaching staff themselves have not been oriented to the integrated approach to teaching.

Related to the first problem is the strong departmental adherence which manifests itself even when it comes to recruiting the participants. Each department recruits participants for a particular subject and will thus neglect other members of the community because they feel they are not strictly 'their people', for example, family planning recruits only women (mothers), neglecting men. In this way the message to the mothers is confined to their specific needs. At times the field staff, who do the recruitment, bring to the DDC a mixture of literate and illiterate participants, thus making it difficult for the unsuspecting instructors who are used to writing on the blackboard or giving handouts to the participants.

Since the two DDCs are experimental, and since there is a possibility of starting others in the remaining districts, the instructors at the two centres should have induction courses together, not only to introduce them to integrated approaches to training but also to achieve a measure of comparability. At the moment the approaches at the two centres appear different, making it difficult to learn from each other's activities and experiences. For instance at Embu the Centre cannot recruit and fund its own short courses for any group of participants; it depends on organizations and departments to sponsor courses. If the Centre had its own training fund, it would sponsor inter-ministerial courses and seminars, making co-ordination and integration easier. This problem has been overcome at Matuga where the principal can sponsor inter-agency seminars. At Matuga there is a gradual movement toward developing problem-solving capabilities, communication skills, and change-making habits. These are perhaps the most crucial areas of education for development. These skills and attitudes must, and do, cut across subject areas.

The Management Committee of the DDC is involved with curriculum development. All field officers are given an opportunity to decide on educational priorities for the area. Trainers from different fields work side by side and observe how their contribution fits into the total picture of development effort in the area. The principal of the DDC is a member of the District Development Committee which is the main development planning organization. The District Development Committee brings together all heads of government departments, local authorities, voluntary agencies and politicians in the district. The educational component is therefore considered as development plans for the district are prepared.

The DDCs have been placed under the Office of the President to avoid the inter-ministerial rivalry which has hitherto undermined integration of education and training in particular and development programmes in general. Should the DDC experimentation of Matuga and Embu succeed, implementing the scheme will not be expensive as there are already 34 fully staffed Farmers Training Centres and about 15 Community Development Training Centres which could be easily converted into District Development Centres. The plant and facilities already exist in these centres. Integrative approaches both in staffing and methodology are needed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

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CHAPTER 6

Co-ordination, Resources, Finance and Commonwealth Co-operation

The purpose of society is man...to serve man there must be a social organization...conducive to the greater production of things useful for the material and spiritual welfare of man. It may well be a function of society to organize and sustain efficient economic organizations and productive techniques, even when...unpleasant or restrictive...But...when the demands of 'efficiency' and 'production' override men's need for a full and good life, then society is no longer serving man, it is using him.

Julius K. Nyerere

Co-ordination and Co-operation (Local and National)

In its extensive consideration of these issues, the Delhi Conference turned first to the lead paper of Chris Duke. Noting that NFE must serve the 'poorest of the poor' and also that political dimensions and implications cannot be ignored, he went on to look at a number of 'key issues':

> The first is whether and how one can distinguish these from government *control*. Related to this is a strategic question about centralization or central direction. Is it possible to manage an NFE strategy through a 'cascade' model whereby centrally generated policies, curricula, manuals, evaluation systems etc., are used and carried out locally; or does the centre-periphery approach (such as underlies the massive Iranian adult education and literacy campaign) by its nature contradict the spirit of NFE? Another aspect of this is that it may be necessary to exercise strong central control and direction in order to impose on officials those characteristics—'deformalization', 'debureaucratization'—deemed necessary for effective NFE. This has been suggested in a study of further education needs of aboriginal peoples in Northern Australia.[2]
>
> A second key issue is the relation between governmental and non-governmental provision, and the role of the voluntary or NGO sector. In western Commonwealth countries the voluntary sector remains significant and quite influential in providing alternatives to formal schooling; such

private schooling, while it may be more innovative and experimental in some cases, is however not generally to be described as non-formal education, much less as NFE for development. The voluntary tradition is also significant in adult education. Here it is correct to describe the bulk of such work as NFE, though whether 'for development' is less clear. Co-operation between government and the voluntary sector will be increasingly important as hopes for development through education shift towards NFE. There is considerable unease in Australia, however, to take just one example, among voluntary providers of adult education as committees and commissions seeking to rationalize post-school education have led to new state machineries for co-ordination of provision. Co-ordination tends to lead to bureaucratization and indirect control. NFE may then lose precisely that non-formal character which is its distinctive virtue. In noting below the Indian approach as an example of national-level co-operation, we should reflect on what might be the best solutions to the need for co-operation and co-ordination without destructive control.

NFE within government systems is a third issue, one that poses a very difficult problem of co-ordination. Here, in contrast to the area of government/NGO co-operation, we might well feel that there is need for *more* authority and control. When we scan the range of functional ministries and departments—health, information, agriculture, productivity, industry, population planning, immigration, community and ethnic affairs, interior and so on—we find that NFE, like communication, appears as a service component in most. There may even be a large professional staff concerned exclusively with, for instance, health or population education, industrial training or agricultural extension. Often such personnel are engaged in functional literacy or community development—NFE activities without which their own particular objectives would be thwarted. Unfortunately, bureaucratic imperialism is so widespread that competition is commoner than co-operation. The result is duplication, waste of scarce resources, and confusion in the recipient community which experiences a succession of government officers trying to do similar things. Of course ministries and departments of education may be no less guilty than others, so control from that quarter might not provide the answer.

In turning now to local and national levels of co-operation and co-ordination we may simply note rather than explore the different substantive areas of education, whether school or post-school age, which are encompassed. It might be fruitful to reflect on the role of each of these in the basic cycle or core curriculum being defined in different countries, and by international bodies such as UNESCO, to prescribe what each child should attain before leaving the initial phase of education, whether formal or non-formal. They include literacy and functional literacy, education in productive skills, civics, citizenship or social education (which may include education for national integrity and security, general or liberal education), continuing or updating education of various kinds, and the conscientization or consciousness-raising expounded by Paulo Freire. It is immediately obvious that co-ordination across this range will be very difficult and often impossible.

While approaches to co-ordination at the national level are better known, local-level co-ordination and co-operation are equally important, perhaps even more important in the sense that many different approaches can be tried within one country and those that are successful may be replicated elsewhere. Experimentation is harder for a total system than for part of it, and the risks associated with innovation are so great that little may ever be attempted.

At the simplest level co-operation can take the form of jointly publicizing available learning opportunities in both the public and voluntary sectors. Recent interest among adult educators in the need for information, guidance and counselling services for adults[2] includes such arrangements. In the Australian city of Melbourne, the Council of Adult Education produces an annual handbook of all identifiable courses. The Council is unique in Australia in being charged with stimulating and facilitating rather than merely making provision, although it is also a major provider of adult learning opportunities in its own right. In the same city the first and most successful of a number of learning exchanges provides another example of local co-operation and co-ordination entirely outside the government system; the learning exchange matches a rich diversity of teaching resources with learning needs with the assistance of a computer data bank. Similar arrangements are to be found in various cities throughout western countries of the Commonwealth. Another example of local co-operation in Australia is the Learning Information Network (LINK) an adult education information service started jointly by a university and a government department of education, which may come to acquire more active co-ordination and counselling functions in addition to the initial information service.[3]

These examples refer to adult non-formal education rather than alternatives for children. The research and development unit (BPPPK) of the Indonesian Ministry of Education is conducting a project in co-operation with the Department of Community Education (Penmas) to identify all the different kinds of community and governmental learning resources available to selected villages, as a basis for developing a community-based non-formal system of educational provision which draws on these resources (including the formal school and its personnel) to meet their learning needs. Two national workshops in Thailand in 1978 (one arranged by UNESCO, the other by a regional adult education NGO), examined local-level co-ordination of non-formal education, again taking into account the different community as well as governmental resources in the locality. The intention in Indonesia is that the local Community Education Officer should act as a co-ordinator and facilitator. In Thailand the first of these seminars laid strong emphasis on the need to cut across the lines of command from Bangkok through to the local level by means of some form of delegation to a local co-ordinating team. Otherwise directives from the centre within the priorities of national ministries and departments negate any attempt to co-ordinate in relation to local-level priorities and needs.

In Australia the same phenomenon and need have been identified in relation to Aboriginal communities in remote areas of the Northern Territory and Western Australia. Regional co-ordinating committees in the latter seek to exercise authority delegated from the capital, Perth. In the Northern Territory a largely unsuccessful attempt was made to appoint Community Advisers from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs to act as local co-ordinators; their work was to include chairing co-ordinating committees of all officers of the communities together with community leaders to plan an NFE response to community needs. The plan has had little success, partly because other officers retain their direct line to their own Head Office, whose dictates override those of the local situation. The same phenomenon has been exposed by the Centre for Continuing Education of the Australian National University in working with Australian subsidiaries of multi-nationals which are seeking to introduce schemes of industrial democracy in their workplaces. Such attempts are thwarted so long as the local functional section heads retain any direct line to their overseas functional heads, since their priorities will override the needs of the local situation. Remote control is singularly inappropriate in the struggle to secure effective co-operation and co-ordination in NFE.

When we turn to the national level there is a wealth of generally available information. However the problems are if anything yet more intransigent. Relations between governmental and non-governmental sectors can be problematic. There is also the strong adult education tradition in many countries to be balanced with the emergent and potentially wider and more significant thrust towards NFE. Ideally, the adult education tradition might be used to buttress NFE against the dangers of 'take over' and formalization by the formal system. A strong but outward-looking national adult education association may serve as the guardian of the distinctive virtue of both adult and system-wide non-formal education. India provides a good example of how this might be attained, despite difficulties between theory, structure and execution. A strong national association of thirty years standing has many organizational members, including state adult education associations. As part of the massive National Adult Education Programme India has upgraded its Directorate of Adult Education within the Ministry of Education and Welfare, and charged a Joint Secretary of that Ministry with the full-time responsibility for executing the Programme. It has also created a strong National Council representing different relevant interests inside and outside of government. And it is looking to the NGO sector, through the National Association, to play a key part in implementing the Programme. This suggests perhaps the minimal requirements for effective co-operation at the national level—a ministry unit with adequate resources and expertise as well as authority, an official or semi-official national council, and a strong national association with a regional, provincial or similar infrastructure

Of course not all Commonwealth countries have the traditions and infrastructure of India in adult education. Singapore is just now seeing the creation of a national association based on the University of Singapore (Extramural Studies) and the People's Association, with co-operation from the newly merged Adult Education Board and the Industrial Training Board. Near-by Malaysia has no such association, nor indeed any one government department to provide a natural base for either adult or wider non-formal education; the responsibility for periodic monitoring of this area sits with the Implementation and Co-ordination Unit of the Prime Minister's Department. Hong Kong, on the other hand, has a young but very vigorous National Association based mainly in the voluntary and university sectors which, because of its very vigour, may be regarded by the Department of Education as something of an embarrassment, although cordial relations are maintained. In New Zealand, the structure was established by the National Council of Adult (Continuing)

Education, under the 1947 Adult Education Act but, partly perhaps for this reason, does not have a distinct national association. A recent history of New Zealand adult education suggests that the voluntary sector has suffered from this sequence of events.[4] Canada, because of its two languages and traditions, has two Associations. The Australian Association of Adult Education is a strong and vigorous body, given the small dispersed population relative to the size of the country, but Australia has no Federal Government unit or department of adult education, and no national council. Like Canada it suffers from a lack of national co-ordination by being a federal system.

Apart from India, there are a number of Adult Education Associations in Third World Commonwealth countries. The People's Educational Association in Ghana appeared in the late 1940s while there are more recent developments in countries like Kenya or Botswana. One of the most successful is that of Guyana. Founded in 1956, the Association is now responsible for all courses formerly provided by the Ministry of Education. It receives an annual grant from Government and is able to employ a full-time adult education officer. It is also represented on each Regional Development Council.

Turning to co-ordination between government departments at national level, Chris Duke's paper notes that:

> The problems of 'bureaucratic imperialism' and rivalry are so sadly and universally familiar that we need to do little more than acknowledge them. Nothing short of an act of political will and sustained decisive leadership will avert duplication and competition in NFE and community development, with cost to the quality and efficiency of educational services. Because NFE resources are so widely dispersed through government (and throughout society) the problem is far more acute than in the formal system; although not many countries suffer the difficulty of Thailand where education is divided between a powerful Ministry of the Interior which controls elementary education and a Ministry of Education responsible for other provision. A national council, if strong and strongly led, may go well along the way to solving this. The Central Literacy Committee in Burma provides an excellent example of a very high-level cross-sectoral Committee which plans, co-ordinates and mobilizes resources for the national literacy programme. Tanzania provides an outstanding example of integrated educational planning for development with the emphasis on adult education—again a consequence especially of strong commitment and leadership from the top, in this case from President Nyerere. In New Zealand while the voluntary sector, especially the Workers' Educational Association, paid a price for a National Council, one result in the long term has been to build adult education strongly into the Ministry itself, and even (perhaps confusingly) to redefine all post-school education, including higher education as continuing education.

We might be unwise to demand any one model for co-ordination or even co-operation at the national level in so dispersed and diverse a field as NFE. Among important features, however, should be included: access at a very high level and at an early stage to national development planning; some consultative and co-ordinating mechanism, also at a high level and with top-level sanction, for co-ordination of effort between different government departments; understanding and appreciation of the unique role and contribution of NGOs and the voluntary sector. This includes both the traditional resources of Asian, African and South Pacific societies as well as agencies born in the main out of nineteenth century British tradition and emulated, more or less fruitfully and with more or less adaptation, in many countries during the colonial period. Government officers are among the most forward in many Commonwealth and other countries in recognizing the advantages of a strong non-governmental sector. This includes the tactical advantage to themselves of having a strong national association from which pressure may be exerted, even on themselves in their official capacity, in the interests of NFE. Such an opinion has been expressed by colleagues in government in Thailand and other countries in South-East Asia as well as by colleagues from different Commonwealth countries. In one African Commonwealth country the efforts of the national association in having established a quasi-official national council have reportedly resulted quite directly in a several-fold increase in the national budget allocation to adult education.

The emphasis on voluntary associations in Chris Duke's paper was taken up by the Conference itself, which urged Governments 'to encourage and support voluntary agencies in non-formal education'. However, it warned that 'structures are needed to harness the potential of voluntary effort'. In this context a Conference Recommendation notes that better use of voluntary agencies should be encouraged by: '(a) including their representative on national boards and commissions concerned with rural development and co-ordination of non-formal education, and on related bodies at other levels; (b) consulting them when non-formal education policies are being framed; (c) involving them in planning and implementing programmes that are in keeping with their interests and expertise; (d) extending technical support to their development programmes; (e) assisting them with evaluation; (f) involving and sponsoring their personnel in non-formal education training programmes both as trainers and trainees; and (g) offering grants-in-aid to non-governmental agencies capable of initiating and managing development-oriented non-formal education.'

Nevertheless, important though non-governmental agencies may be, it is governments themselves which must take the lead in promoting and co-ordinating effort in non-formal education.

As the Conference Report notes:

> At the national level the co-ordinating machinery most likely to be successful is a structure that is an extension of the government's own administration. A national agency on which all relevant government and non-governmental agencies are represented can facilitate integration and quality control of non-formal education. In addition, such a board might be responsible for training and commissioning appropriate research and evaluation. National boards,

however, should not dominate programmes, and the planning, programming and evaluation of most projects should be decentralized. However, co-ordinating structures are needed. Thus at the village level there should be co-ordinating machinery where workers from different agencies are involved. In Tanzania, for example, the village council is the focal point for planning, programme implementation and evaluation...

The initiative for setting local development goals, for implementing local plans and for evaluation should be the responsibility of local government organizations or village management groups. In addition to their central concern, which is with the development and operation of the local educational programme, responsibilities at this level should include management of local non-formal education facilities, payment of staff and training field workers.

At provincial and state levels non-formal education responsibilities include framing state-level policy, curriculum development for training field workers, training supervisory staff, quality control through a system of inspection, evaluation of field programmes, the development of curricula and material for field education, and the organization of state-wide programmes.

At the central level, responsibilities should include framing the overall national policy for non-formal education, development of curricula and teaching materials for training supervisory and senior personnel, training senior staff, setting national standards through accreditation, evaluating state and national-level programmes, and commissioning whatever research is required...

Non-formal education is most effective when it is co-ordinated with other development services. At the local level especially, people may become confused when a plethora of agencies and departments with non-formal education components are simultaneously operating separate, unco-ordinated projects. To prevent this from happening, a co-ordinating structure is needed. This structure should aim at inducing co-operation among agencies and departments without dominating their activities at the local level.

The Conference spent some time considering the problem of location for a national co-ordinating structure. It was argued that:

In deciding the best location for the structure, a balance must be maintained between central direction on one side and local commitment and participation on the other.

To achieve this balance a number of problems have to be overcome. First, a co-ordinating body may not be both a good co-ordinating unit and a good implementing agent at the same time. There is a danger than the best energies and resources may be concentrated on co-ordinating non-formal education at the expense of practical implementation. Second, the nature of non-formal education itself demands creativity, flexibility, a need-centred approach. Yet tight co-ordinating structures have a habit of becoming rigid and therefore antithetical to the essential characteristics of non-formal education.

In some situations the location of a co-ordinating structure may not be a significant issue. For example, where all the agencies and departments concerned demonstrate a high degree of commitment, clear unity of purpose and real attention to needs, the location of the co-ordinating authority may be self-evident. Similarly, if the approach of the government strongly stresses co-ordination among ministries and the growth of the system itself is based on principles of co-ordination and co-operation, ministries will readily place the responsibility for meeting their non-formal education needs in the hands of the appropriate implementing body. In other words, where there is already a spirit of co-operation among ministries and departments, they will be prepared to request the most appropriate ministry to co-ordinate the provision of non-formal education programmes to meet their needs.

Most Commonwealth countries seem to favour locating the responsibility for co-ordinating non-formal education close to the centre of political power. In some it is placed in the office of the president or the cabinet office so that the power and prestige of the office itself will facilitate co-ordination and co-operation. Malawi provides an example of this. In others there is a separate central co-ordinating office, with direct access to influential policy makers. In Swaziland the co-ordinating body is chaired by the Prime Minister. Its members are permanent secretaries of government departments, and its secretary is the Secretary to the Cabinet.

In Botswana the co-ordinating mechanism is located in the Department of Finance and Development Planning. The underlying rationale is that all ministries have an interest in finance and this interest may produce co-operation. One of the Conference recommendations is that co-ordination should be located in those ministries dealing with finance and for development. However, it should be noted that non-formal education *is* educational activity and therefore has a claim to be located within a government agency concerned primarily with education. By placing responsibility for co-ordination in a finance ministry, for instance, the educational function of non-formal education might become subordinated to other activities of the ministry. To return to the case of Botswana, The Ministry of Education through its Department of Non-Formal Education provides a central pedagogical resource and a production centre on which other ministries and agencies can draw.

Some Commonwealth countries have attempted to settle the problems of locating the co-ordinating authority for non-formal education by placing it outside the direct control of government. In Kenya, for instance, general co-ordination of non-formal education is undertaken by the Board of Adult Education which comprises representatives of government and voluntary organizations. The Board advises the government on policy changes which need to be made in an effort to improve adult education. Some government involvement is necessary to implement decisions and to call upon the various ministries for support. In Zambia, the National Adult Education Advisory Board draws its membership from voluntary agencies, government departments, parastatals, the political party, churches and trade unions. In the Zambia case there is also an Adult Education Association which is a voluntary body with branches at local and district levels.

Resources and Finance: an Overview

The information and ideas put forward in this book have so far avoided questions of resources and finance. There are at least three reasons why we have done this.

1. Just as non-formal education is a complex concept and has an even more complex and varied organization, so the origin of its resources is also complex; it is enormously difficult to assess the costs in these circumstances. Indeed, one conclusion to be drawn from the available literature is that both direct and indirect costs are not only difficult to assess, but bear little relationship to the effectiveness of programmes.

2. It is commonly stated that NFE is a cheaper form of education than formal schooling. Well, it can be if it is more effective. But the assumption that it is always cheaper is a dangerous one, partly because it is not always true and partly because it helps to perpetuate the myth that NFE is an inferior alternative.

3. Most importantly, and as Reg Green has pointed out,[5] resources and finance by themselves will not create non-formal education capable of helping workers and peasants, aged and unemployed, women and minorities, to liberate their consciousness or improve their economic circumstances, their social condition or their political status. Organization and finance are means to the ends we have described. Much reorganization, especially by administrative science experts and management consultants, is an escape from facing problems that have little to do with organizational structures. More money is an equally uncertain panacea. *Per capita* expenditure on NFE does not seem very closely related to coverage, quality and output.

Financial Complexity

A UNESCO team engaged to evaluate the effects of the World Literacy Programme attempted to answer the question: 'What does it cost to make a person literate?' Even this simple question did not elicit a simple answer, as appears from the following extract from a table in their report.[6]

Table 6: The Cost of Making a Person Literate

Countries	Total Estimated Cost per Enrolled Participant	Total Estimated Cost per Final Participant	Estimated Cost per Final Participant (excluding research and evaluation)	Estimated Cost per Participant Passing Final Examination
	US.$	US.$	US.$	US.$
Sudan	7.00	272.00	110.00	269.00
Madagascar	112.00	126.00	48.00	...
Tanzania	7.00	10.00	9.00	32.00

Such varied answers are not surprising—and they need not lead us to assume glaring variations in efficiency. Dual use of resources (e.g. school buildings), voluntary labour and the use of the time of staff employed mainly for other purposes are but some of the variables which can lead to the production of wildly different answers to an apparently simple question. Moreover, even the extraction of figures from government estimates—themselves only part of the story—makes it necessary to look at the expenditure of a formidable number of governmental and non-governmental organizations. A recent estimate from Kenya[7] produces the results shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Financing Adult Education in Kenya

Ministry	£	%
Office of the President	1,026,591	6.0
Directorate of Personnel Management	3,482,744	20.0
Ministry of Home Affairs	301,780	1.7
Ministry of Finance and Planning	117,755	0.6
Ministry of Agriculture	4,017,007	23.0
Ministry of Health	2,273,307	13.0
Ministry of Works	452,720	2.6
Ministry of Power and Communication	355,104	2.0
Ministry of Labour	702,749	4.0
Ministry of Housing & Social Services	412,730	2.0
Ministry of Co-operative Development	215,178	1.2
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	260,583	1.5
Ministry of Education	3,449,990	20.0
Office of the Attorney-General	96,203	0.5
Total	£17,164,441	
National budget	£451,545,675	
Adult Education as % of National Budget		3.8%

These figures, extracted from the printed estimates of government recurrent expenditure for the 1978/79 financial year, treat adult education broadly to include courses of training, literacy and non-formal education in general.

One of the most carefully calculated estimate of costs for any NFE programme comes from Botswana. The 'public consultation' on the government's policy proposals for the tribal grazing lands has already been mentioned; this consultation has been very thoroughly reported and evaluated.[8] The whole process started in 1975 when the Cabinet instructed the Government's Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) to mount a national Consultation. The RECC established a small working committee—the Grazing Committee—that would be responsible for the day-to-day running of the

Consultation. The Grazing Committee was to be chaired by a Media Co-ordinator. Later a Consultation Officer was appointed to handle the processing and analysis of campaign feed-back data. The Grazing Committee's membership was made up of representatives from the College University's Division of Extra Mural Services (DEMS), the Botswana Extension College (BEC), whose Evaluation Officer led the Consultation's evaluation unit, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Finance's Rural Development Unit. The Committee set up its own working groups to deal with Fieldwork and Training, Materials, Production and Evaluation/Consultation.

The Consultation had four phases. Briefly these were: (a) public discussion in *kgotla* meetings led by the Cabinet—August 1975; (b) briefings and seminars for Government and government-related officers—August 1975 to February 1976; (c) a massive radio learning group (RLG) campaign—(piloted in December 1976, and run in June and July 1976); and (d) analysis of response from the campaign (to be fed into the national land use planning exercise district by district).

The costs of all this activity have been very carefully computed. The *total* cost (both direct and indirect) is estimated at P 416 000 (U.S.$ 483,000). Direct costs are costs which arose expressly because of the campaign and would not otherwise have occurred. Indirect costs include the costs of Botswana's resources which were diverted from other activities to the campaign. An RLG leader training course, for example, would have the direct cost of food, accommodation and transport for the leaders, and the indirect costs of extension workers' time spent organizing and running the course.

Table 8: The Campaign's Direct Costs by Amount and by Percentage of Direct Costs

Item	Pula	Percentage of Direct Costs
Campaign co-ordination	9,000	5.6%
Fieldwork and training	19,700	12.3%
Teaching materials	45,500	28.3%
Hardware (radio and tape recorders)	54,100*	33.7%
Consultation	17 300	10.8%
Evaluation	8,800	5.5%
Transport	5,000	3.1%
Postage (official free)	1,200	0.7%
Total direct costs	160,000	100.0%

*Purchase cost—no allowance for residual value

Table 9: The Campaign's Indirect Cost Items by Amount and by Percentage of Indirect Costs

Items	Pula	Percentage of Indirect Costs
Field support (extension workers' time, etc.)	137,700	53.9%
Senior staff support	41,600	16.3%
Overheads to senior staff	51,400	20.2%
Radio air-time	4,700	1.8%
Transport	20,400	7.8%
Total Indirect Costs	255,800	100.0%

Table 10: Total Campaign Costs by Amount and by Percentage of Total Costs

Direct Costs	Pula	Percentage of Total Costs
Campaign co-ordination	9,000	2.2%
Fieldwork and training	19,700	4.7%
Teaching materials	45,500	10.9%
Hardware (radio and tape recorders)	54,100	13.0%
Consultation	17,300	4.2%
Evaluation	8,800	2.1%
Transport	5,000	1.2%
Postage (official free)	1,200	0.3%
Total Direct costs	160,600	38.6%
Indirect costs		
Field support (extension workers' time, etc.)	137,700	33.1%
Senior staff support	41,600	10.0%
Overheads to senior staff	51,400	12.3%
Radio air-time	4,700	1.1%
Transport	20,400	4.9%
Total Indirect costs	255,800	61.4%
Total Campaign costs	416,400	100.0%

The Botswana example shows not only the complexity of computation but also the fact that NFE is not *necessarily* a cheap alternative—especially if the indirect costs (in this case 61.4% of the total) are added in. However, it is important not to swing to the other extreme and assume that therefore nothing can be done! The example of the Ahmedabad Self-Employed Womens Association quoted in Chapter 5 shows that NFE can be resource generating as well as resource consuming.

Looking at NFE in terms of government budget allocations is probably *not* the best way of securing action. It is probably better to start with the mobilization of existing resources. After all, much NFE exists already: the task is to ensure that all available effort is used effectively. NFE, like any other social service, will certainly need some cash. However, more than for most other existing services, much can be done by using the people and the plant which already exist. Nevertheless without finance, motivation and ideals will be frustrated by lack of personnel, equipment, materials or physical facilities. Finance and organization may be likened to water supply and environmental sanitation: not very dramatic or, to the non-specialist, very interesting; and not guaranteeing very much when they are present but disastrously influential when they are absent. They are similar in two more respects. First, impure water leads to epidemics; second the environmental sanitation system suitable for London is neither appropriate nor practical for a Ghanaian village (and *vice versa*). Good organization cannot cause developmental NFE; bad organization can prevent it. In terms of funds and organization, the needs of NFE are quite different for Calgary and an Inyuit village, for Windhoek and Tuvalu, for Liverpool and rural Bihar.

The Purposes of Resource Mobilization

It is perhaps useful at this stage to remind ourselves of the purposes for which resources must be mobilized:

1. First and foremost—as noted in Chapter 1—the non-formal idea derives from development planning. NFE is the series of educational components of national development plans. These are the essential building blocks from which knowledge understanding, skills and productive attitudes must derive. We are thus at the core of national policies and national decision making in seeking to mobilize resources for these activities. The non-formal system is or must become an integral part of the development system.

2. The definition of NFE as accepted by the Conference is the one propounded by Philip Coombs and included in his keynote address to the Seventh Commonwealth Education Conference: 'Any organized learning activity outside the structure of the formal education system that is consciously aimed at meeting specific learning needs of particular sub-groups in the community—be they children, youth or adults. Non-formal education, thus defined, includes a vast

assortment of activities such as agricultural extension, skill training, health and family planning programmes, youth clubs and women's organizations with educational objectives, functional literacy programmes, and so forth.'[9]

3. The assortment of activities includes a variety of aims, all subordinate to the main goal of national development. They include consciousness raising; primary skills; and the capacity of previously excluded, oppressed, exploited or isolated groups (communities, classes) to organize themselves and act to advance their own welfare. The target groups as defined in Chapter 2 remain the focus of NFE.

4. NFE is thus perceived as related to basic human needs as seen by those participating in it, and to national needs as perceived by dominant national decision takers, and set out either in a formal national plan, a series of policy statements, or reversed preference through their actual decisions. (If these two sets of needs are in radical conflict—a not unknown situation—problems far beyond organization and finance or the scope of this book must ensue.)

5. Therefore NFE is necessarily within a specific socio-political and political economic context (quite possibly several contexts within one state or even one town). The dominant influences flow from these contexts as they inform the participant and decision-taker's perception of needs for and goals of NFE as they relate to organization and finance. They do not flow in the other direction. (This is not to deny a feedback—really ineffective organization and totally inadequate or incompetently used finance can quickly create a perception of NFE as ineffective.)

6. The divergence of problems of organization and finance flowing from different national contexts may not be as great as is sometimes supposed. Participants in serious, broad-coverage NFE programmes are predominantly persons who have been excluded, exploited and oppressed—whether wilfully or by neglect. NFE usually suffers both from inadequate co-ordination and from over-adequate imposition of co-ordinated 'standards'. Common problems include attempts to relate both to perceived participant needs and to established holders of personnel and purses, to discriminate positively and inclusively in favour of the under-privileged without reinforcing their exclusion and stigmatization. Such problems are not limited to poor or new, fragile or peripheral states but are equally critical (and equally unresolved) issues in rich industrial states. In this regard the Commonwealth is not divisible. Or, as Reg Green[10] expresses it, some of the more critical modest goals are:

(a) To be able to plan strategically (asking how many; where; in what topics; through what programmes; when, using what institutions, personnel and finance?).

(b) To increase effective determination and choice of programmes by participants including accepting diversities of choices.[11]

(c) To co-ordinate implementation to avoid gaps and genuinely wasteful overlaps (e.g. the all too common failure to perceive that agricultural extension is a branch of education as much as of agriculture) and to ensure workable inter-relationships (e.g. building up rural library networks in the footsteps of literacy, ensuring that radio campaigns have expert media, education *and* subject personnel involved in their preparation).

(d) To increase the ability of a wide range of national, local governmental, community, employer and voluntary bodies to innovate, be responsible for, and build self-reliance in respect of their programmes.[12]

(e) To provide, as needed, support to all participating bodies (community or national, voluntary or state). Support includes expertise in programme and supporting-material design, and in evaluation procedures.

(f) To encourage diversity, experiments and local control over NFE.[13]

(g) To build up adequate personnel with appropriate qualifications to participate in NFE work.

(h) To make maximum use of all motivated individuals with relevant contributions to provide and avoiding turning NFE 'teaching' into a large, full-time, 'professional' cadre duplicating the greatest weaknesses of the formal educator cadres.*

(i) To ensure that adequate finance (governmental or other) for priority programmes (again governmental or other) is provided.

(j) To limit the degree to which ease of financial administration and the relatively greater resources of the central government come to dominate NFE priorities, as opposed to participant goals and programme priorities determining institutional channels and financial procedures.[14]

Organization and Resource Planning

Organization in NFE, as we have seen in Chapter 5, is critical and possibly controversial. Certainly, popular participation in decision making seems a *sine qua non* of success.[15] And organization is closely related to the way in which resources are mobilized, for resources are not limited to money. People, physical facilities (e.g. school buildings) transport and other equipment are all important. 'When thought of in these terms the resources needed to provide and sustain non-formal education require inputs by community groups, voluntary organizations, and a whole range of other contributors. To make resource mobilization effective, it is necessary to encourage participaton by whole communities and to co-ordinate the use of resources. Such "hidden" elements (e.g. use of formal education physical facilities and personnel and community contributions) are often as large as those contained in formal budgets. It is important that the non-formal education planning process for non-formal education at all levels should identify such ''hidden'' resources to allow their effective mobilization and co-ordination.''[16]

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*The countries, with large, mass-oriented, rapidly executed NFE programmes (e.g. Vietnam, Cuba, Mozambique, Tanzania) have not depended primarily on full-time, professional NFE teaching cadres.

In his conference paper already referred to, Reg Green analysed organization in relation to resource mobilization by touching on six aspects—strategic, 'personpower', operational, programmatic, supporting services, and finance—in the following terms:

> Strategic organization is basically a framework for co-ordinated NFE planning by all involved institutions. . .* [When effective,] an integrated structure should make possible the fitting together of four basic sets of inputs: potential and actual participant demands, national (or sub-national) development goals, existing NFE programmes, and new NFE proposals, to arrive at strategic identification of main activities and institutional responsibilities—in brief an NFE section of annual and multi-year development planning articulated broadly by programme, institution and location.
>
> Personpower organization has two broad aspects—participants seeking primarily to learn, and resource personnel (who hopefully will learn but have quite specific inputs to provide). The first aspect involves indentifying who (groups, individuals and communities) need and seek what types of NFE, where and when. The second requires identifying availabilities and gaps in persons with skills and capabilities in subject matter (e.g. disease control for cocoa, child and mother care, French for Swahili speakers, political participation), supporting services (e.g. book design, radio programme development, printing) and communications (e.g. discussion group leading, literacy teaching, skill development, agricultural or health extension). The availabilities must perforce influence what initial NFE programme building is, and the remaining gaps lead to personpower development for both full and part time, care and supporting service personnel. Research and evaluation organization needs as one of its main goals to translate findings into personpower organization both as to participant performance and perception and also as to specific resource personnel performances and problems.
>
> Operational organization depends on what bodies are responsible for implementing NFE. A Ministry, a branch of an international voluntary agency, UNESCO, a diocese, a village council, a women's group in a deprived urban neighbourhood will not organize NFE in the same way. There is little to be said in general beyond the points made earlier on what organization of NFE should seek to achieve (allow) and the stress on maximum access to decision taking, implementation and review for participants and field resource personnel. Perhaps, however, the need for diversity depending on the operating body is one of the organizational points most in need of repetition because it is so readily forgotten, especially in the context of otherwise desirable co-ordinated strategic planning.
>
> Programmatic organization crosscuts strategic and operational organization. Some programmes, for example a national campaign for environmental

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*Some of the problems of achieving that organization are discussed in Chapter 5.

sanitation or a local campaign to build health via pure water, nutrition (including food growing and storage), waste disposal, parasite eradication, general health education) require detailed planning and parallel, interlocking implementation by several implementing bodies and possibly in several geographic locations. In such cases one institution should be primarily responsible (e g. perhaps the Public Health Division of the Ministry of Health in the one case and a village council in the second) for administration, co-ordination and supervision, with clearly defined responsibilities and forums for consultation for all institutions involved. In general these organizational frameworks should be limited to the programme in question and terminate automatically on its conclusion. Co-ordinating organizations only too readily multiply until their participants have no other functions and, equally critical, operating personnel no longer have any real relation to the co-ordination organization.

Supporting organization relates to ensuring that specialized services are available to and used by operating bodies. For example, agricultural extension can benefit by printed, graphic, radio and audio-visual materials. However, agricultural personnel are unlikely to be media experts (or *vice versa*) and need both to have the supporting services made available and to be given some education in their potential uses and limits. Printing and duplicating (e.g. wall newspapers), audio-visual materials (including tapes made by participants and circulated to other groups and to 'experts') and libraries are among the more evident and general examples of specialized services for which organizational channels to and from NFE bodies are needed. However, other cases will arise (e.g. nutrition education in NFE frequently suffers because no parallel agriculture input to facilitate actually growing the new dietary items is provided).

Resource organization is needed with each of the preceding organizational aspects. It involves first identifying what real resources are needed (e.g. meeting places, resource personnel, books, slide projectors, shovels, wood for carpentry) and what is already available. Then it goes on to mobilization (acquistion) of the balance of the real resources and finally to drawing up financial requirements from which institutional financial and physical budgets can be derived, bargained for, implemented, controlled and evaluated.

Resource planning for NFE should thus begin with real resources, not with money. In the first place one cannot implement a programme with money unless personnel, meeting places and material are available, and in the second one cannot produce a credible financial requirement until one has articulated real resource requirements and how these are to be met.

In one sense of course, even beginning with physical resource requirements is a mistake. The starting point is desired outputs—whatever NFE participants seek to acquire. The next step is to identify programmes and only then proceed to work out what resources they will need. In NFE as in other areas there is a real danger of drawing up budgets which justify inputs (money, personnel, buildings) for their own sake or for the sake of programmes, and not in terms of outputs or proxies for output. Again, one purpose of research and evaluation should be to build up usable and determinable proxies for output less crude than enrolment, less speculative than opinion surveys, and more precise than general levels of output or health.

If NFE is perceived as a central means of meeting participants' basic human needs and national development targets, the resource requirements will be substantial. In a country of 10 million the projected enrolment might be of the order of 2½ million to 3 million. This (given adequate coverage of isolated areas and of topics with high importance to participants or communities, but not mass enrolment) would require 75,000 – 100,000 'classes'. At three hours average per 'class' per week 225,000 – 300,000 meeting place hours would be required. Computing at the rate of one book, four pamphlets, six pencils and two writing pads per participant, further plausible overall requirements can be projected for articulation and refinement.

The magnitude of these projections has three implications. Imagination is needed to see how they can be met in human and physical terms—adding 25,000 full-time teachers is likely to be quite unfeasible no matter how much finance is provided. Similarly, maximum use of existing facilities (including salaries) is needed to make the NFE financial budget politically credible. Finally, some radical additions to facilities will be needed in fields well beyond educational contact points or Ministries of Education. For example:

(a) Personnel (and financial) requirements can be radically reduced by using primary school teachers, public and private sector middle and high qualification personnel, and anyone with competence in a field for part-time teaching in subjects in which participants have an interest.

(b) For part-time programmes (usually in the evening or non-working day) there should be little need for new buildings since primary schools, clinics, community centers, mosques and churches normally have space not used at the relevant periods. This can mean a very major saving indeed on capital costs (as well as limiting real construction resource pressure).

(c) Printing 3 million books and 12 million pamphlets per 10 million population for direct NFE programmes (and presumably perhaps half as many more for supporting libraries and work-related programmes) is likely to require major expansion not only of education writing and editing capacity, but also of printing and publishing, unless the state is both rich and marked by high levels of readership.

As a result, the NFE real resource and financial budgets are likely to be quite different in breakdown from those typifying formal educational systems. Salaries of teachers and places to meet will normally be markedly lower as proportions of expenditure. Supporting materials (from seeds for agricultural courses to newsprint or videotape for community communications workshops) and equipment (similarly from ploughs through typewriters to tape recorders) will normally need to take a higher share either than in formal education budgets or in most present NFE budgets. Finally, related expenditure (e.g. the writing, editing, printing and publishing chain) will need to go well beyond NFE proper and well beyond what is normally covered in most sectoral formal education budgets.

Five key areas require special mention:

1. *Personnel* requirements fall into four categories: full-time, part-time, related and supporting. Ideally the vast majority will be in the middle two categories with NFE an additional role entered into for modest remuneration

with other significant motivations (including status and public image as well as more selfless ones). Full-time programmes, including teaching all NFE personnel and organization, will require full-time staff. Related personnel are those in fields such as agricultural extension, public (or preventitive or paramedical) health, community development, recreation and youth. All of these should certainly be perceived as involved in NFE at the same time as being engaged in existing substantive programmes unlikely to be integrated into education as such, however broadly defined. Supporting personnel include those in media, printing and publishing, specialized facility or equipment production and maintenance. All personnel for NFE require specialized education—especially those with formal education teaching qualifications.

2. *Places* should pose problems only for year-round full-time programmes like folk colleges and service units (e.g. libraries, NFE personnel training centres and supporting services such as media centres and printing houses). For the bulk of programmes it is programatically feasible and financially essential to use workplaces, schools (including secondary, technical and tertiary to secure access to laboratories and workshops), general community and religious meeting places, clinics and other government buildings, outside their normal working hours. For genuinely needed buildings there is a need to avoid shabbiness (NFE will not prosper if seen as a poor relation of 'real' education) but an even greater need to limit structures to programme needs. The latter is a requirement education in general fails to meet rather notably. Non-formal education's better performance to date is probably related less to money than to sounder thinking.

3. *Media* are critical NFE resources both within the programmes and for creating an environment in which NFE is desired and where participants can build on their NFE experience by reading, listening, seeing for self-education and recreation, leisure, pleasure and skill enhancement. Among the main media are: newspapers (including community, wall or mimeod variants); audio visual facilities (including closed circuit sets and simple cameras which allow 'class' or community tape making); books and pamphlets (hopefully with graphic illustration, to help learning directly and to break up the arid expanse of page after page of uniform type, and channels such as community and workplace libraries to make them generally available) and finally radio (especially when linked to supplementary materials and local discussion groups). All these tend to be in scarce supply, not very oriented to NFE and often remarkably imitative of the least satisfactory aspects of industrial economy media in a majority of developing Commonwealth countries.

4. *Materials* needed vary from programme to programme, for example slates and pencils for literacy, pipes, pegs and lines for simple surveying and village layout, and spades, cement and hoes for environmental sanitation (including pit latrine building). Unfortunately the articulated requirements are often not worked out with care (e.g. applied agricultural practice programmes with reading material, but no tools, seeds, plants, fertilizer) and are usually either underbudgeted initially or are the first to fall victim to budget cuts. These are penny wise, pound foolish savings of effort or money. NFE must be applied, not theoretical. Without adequate materials it inevitably cannot be truly applied.

5. *Research and evaluation* is intermediate between an aspect of organization and a real resource. To be truly effective, evaluation needs to be integrated into programmes so that results in terms of output (not only cost) become known automatically, and in time to revise procedures or programmes which are not working as intended. The natural desire not to exhibit one's failings (a desire unfortunately buttressed nationally by most resource transfer bodies and international expert agencies which often exhibit the aversion in a near pathological form when their own programmes are involved) can be countered by the equally natural desires to remedy them promptly and to build on one's successes—both impossible without built-in evaluation. It is silly, especially in educational terms, to plan in detail what is to happen, then fail first to collect data to see what is happening and second to commission detailed detective exercises to see what did happen. Research, like evaluation, should not be the monopoly of programme operators but again is most effective if integrated into ongoing operations and at least partially action-oriented. While these points are particularly true of new and experimental programmes requiring revision or expansion, generalization or elimination, they also hold for ongoing bread and butter (or rice and sauce) NFE. What is examined can usually then be done better, and what is appropriate in 1978 should not be so in 1988 if development really is being achieved.

Money and other Resources

Unfortunately, identifying the actual resource requirements of a programme and converting them into money terms does not end the problem of financing, even after care is taken to limit calls on resources. In the first place there is never enough money or real resources for all programmes which could be justified were there no financial constraint. Further, the fitting together of real resources and finance is very often not a simple exercise. Third, resource mobilization (real or financial) is not a zero sum game—some routes reduce and some increase either resources or the cost of the programme.

The first problem is not unique to NFE. Ultimately it is a combination of problems. First, the relevant decision takers have to be convinced that NFE is of adequate priority to justify the allocation of resources. Included among these decision takers will be treasuries who will be asked for 2½ per cent of their recurrent budgets, primary school teachers who will be asked to devote eight hours a week to NFE programmes, and radio stations who will be asked to allocate 20 per cent of broadcasting time and adequate personnel to education programming. They will be expected to justify the allocation in absolute terms and in comparison with what will have to be cut out (constables or offices, leisure or part-time work, music or political speech coverage) to allow NFE the resources sought.

The second problem is determing what cuts can be made with minimum damage to goals when the maximum obtainable resource allocation falls short of that sought. To convince relevant decision takers, NFE planners must:

(a) Demonstrate that NFE is critical to the person or body with the resources i.e. that it will meet specific development goals and that teaching will provide income and raise the status of the primary school teacher within the community.

(b) Present a convincing case that care has been taken to avoid unnecessary resource demands and to include all costs (over-expenditure of money is unpopular with treasuries, attempted 'over-expenditure' of personnel leads to gaps in programmes).
(c) Build a record of past achievement on which to base claims as to future performance—again in terms relevant to the decision taker approached.
(d) Serve participants' goals in a way which leads to a 'constituency' willing and able to express its support to officials, agencies, members of parliament and political parties.

No NFE strategy is likely to involve only one agency. Nor are all participating bodies likely to list their programmes as NFE, for example agricultural extension and health/nutrition education by paraprofessional and professional staff associated with clinical or environmental programmes are very unlikely to appear as non-formal education or even as 'education' in formal budgets. Equally not all institutions and agencies will share a common budget (federal, state and local government, community organizations, voluntary agencies).

A strategic budget—physical and financial—for all NFE is desirable because it gives an overview of relationships among different segments and an overview also of the different financial and real resource capacities and requirements of the various component units. Since it is by definition a sketch, it is unlikely to be useful to treat it as a formal operational budget draft or even to carry it out in the detail needed for such a budget.

The key (and in almost all cases dominant) source of finance should be the central budget (or the state budget if NFE is at state level in a federal system). This is a matter of necessity as a serious NFE strategy requires resources beyond the capacity of other institutions. If other institutions (local government or community, voluntary agency or employer) are better placed to mobilize personnel and/or facilities then they should receive financial transfers to allow them to do so. Certain economies of scale are usually greater in raising funds for core programmes than in programme operation, mobilizing personnel or securing funds for associated or experimental programmes.

Mobilization is critical because using brute financial force is expensive in money terms (e.g. building new 'classrooms' instead of using community, voluntary body or primary school space). It also reduces the range of participation possible (e.g. a full-time professional teacher cadre verses part-time volunteers paid honoraria or supplementary wages combined with a limited full-time staff) by increasing real resource costs, probably damaging the quality of the NFE and endangering diversity and responsiveness to participants' perceptions of their own needs. That side of the financial problem is really an organizational one—keeping the tensions between coordination and participation, efficiency and diversity, professionalism and enthusiasm creative.

On the other hand, mobilization of external funds—by agencies or governments needs rather more systematic attention than it has usually received, in the light of national NFE priorities. First it has usually been too donor-initiated, and the way it did or did not relate to overall national and community efforts has been inadequately articulated. Co-ordination is critical even in respect to voluntary bodies—random solicitation abroad by all and sundry is not likely to be efficient either in maximizing receipts or in relating to participant needs. Second, many governments have not given enough priority to seeking funds for NFE (at least judging by the startling response some have encountered with offers exceeding their 'bargaining' draft requests). Third, the ways in which foreign resources (funds, personnel or physical resources) can best be used to fill gaps deserves serious, not random attention. This is expecially true because in most countries much equipment (e.g. audio visual, typewriters, printing presses) and some materials (e.g. paper, books) must be imported, and for imports finance in the form of foreign exchange has distinct advantages.

Commonwealth Co-operation

Non-formal education by its very nature and in terms of its major virtues (relevance, flexibility) is not a prime subject for the international organization of programmes. Nor is replication of one country's programme in another country likely to be effective. Needs are usually specific and, to some extent, time and culture bound. Even where new techniques have been developed (e.g. mass radio learning campaigns) and used effectively elsewhere (e.g. from Tanzania to Botswana) the purposes and ultimate achievements of the programmes are likely to be different. Even in respect of finance, national sources are often more likely to be appropriate to the flexibility and local relevance which is looked for; these features do not fit readily into most aid patterns.

What then is left for Commonwealth co-operation?

The Delhi Conference made a number of important recommendations in this area, noting that there are many ways in which such co-operation on a pan-Commonwealth, regional or bilateral basis can help in improving existing NFE programmes and developing new ones. Some of them, in particular regional seminars and seminars on special topics, training facilities, the creation of a panel of consultants, the idea of an information service for NFE, the proposed research association, and a number of projects relating to publications, are to be given special consideration by Commonwealth Education Ministers at the Eighth Commonwealth Education Conference in 1980.

As we said in Chapter 1, The non-formal idea has indeed 'come of age'. But coming of age will be to little purpose unless followed by maturation and development, and for that there will have to be much thought and care and hard work. In that, if not in the detailed implementation of programmes, the Commonwealth idea can surely help the non-formal idea. Above all we need to keep our plans and our resolutions firmly fixed on the needs of the poor. To perfect those plans and to translate them into effective action we have to start with their understanding and their co-operation. Only then will the non-formal system merge with education as a whole—and with the national and international development we all seek to promote.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1 Duke, C. & Sommerlad, E. *Design for Diversity: further education for tribal aborigines in the north*. Canberra, Education Research Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University 1976 (Occasional Report 5, no.8).

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16 Conference Report.

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Apart from the list of Conference papers which appears below, the bibliographical information is in two parts. Firstly, each chapter ends with notes in which the books and articles referred to in the text are listed. Secondly, an additional list *For Further Reading* has been compiled to guide readers to some further useful recent sources of information. The task of checking references and producing the reading list has been undertaken by Mrs. Joan Marder of the Education Library, University of Southampton, to whom the Commonwealth Secretariat is very grateful.

LIST OF CONFERENCE PAPERS

1. General and Committee Papers

Keynote Address—Robert L. Gardiner
The Political Will in Non-Formal Education—Dr. Andreas Fugelsang
Structural Change and Transformation—Dr. M. K. Bacchus
The Involvement of Learners—Mr E. P. R. Mbakili
'Laedza Batanani'—Motivation Through Folk Theatre—Messrs Ross Kidd and Martin Byram
Non-Formal Education for Children Outside School—Rev. Sister Catherine McLevy
A Fijian Alternative to Formal Schooling—Mr. Nelson H. Delailomaloma
Content, Teaching and Learning for Illiterate Adults—Mr. John Bowers
The Role of the Media: Integration of Literacy into Specific Group Interests? Mr. K. A. P. Brown
Non-Formal Education for Health—Commonwealth Secretariat
Some Aspects of Non-Formal Education in Agricultural and Rural Areas—Commonwealth Secretariat
Integration of Research in Action Programmes—Mr. Yusuf O. Kassam
The Democratization of Non-Formal Education Research in Commonwealth Nations—Dr. B. L. Hall
No Education is Neutral—Mr. A. Etherington
Research on Literacy and Work Among the Rural Poor—Mr. K. King
Action Research in Communication—Botswana and Malawi—Messrs. C. Garforth and D. Warr
Multi-Media Communication in Non-Formal Education—Mr. Robin Twite
A Group-Based Radio Project in Consumer Education—Miss Meena Seetulsingh
The Interaction of Formal and Non-Formal Education—Mr. Paul Fordham

Interaction of Formal and Non-Formal Education—Mr. J. P. Naik
Study Service—A Practical Interaction of Formal and Non-Formal Education —Miss Diana Fussel and Mr Andrew Quarmby
Continuing Education for New Literates: Redefining the Problem—Mr. Manzoor Ahmed
The Folk Development Colleges Programmes in Tanzania—Mr Yusuf O. Kassam
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Continuing Education for New Literates with Reference to the Jamaican Experience Mrs. Joyce L. Robinson
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Non-Formal Education for School Drop-Outs—Prof. E. A. Tugbiyele
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Adult Education for Rural Development—Dr. Prodipto Roy and Dr Anita Dighe
Non-Formal Education for Young Illiterate Adults—Commonwealth Secretariat
Programmes of Non-Formal Education for Women—Prof. Mrs Swarna Jayaweera
A Women in Development Project—Mrs. Elisheva Shalev
Programmes of Non-Formal Education for Women in Malaysia—Prof. Fatimah Hamid-Don
Co-ordination and Co-operation at Local, National and Commonwealth Levels—Dr. Chris Duke
Organization and Finance—Prof. Reginald Herbold Green
Co-ordination between Non-Formal Adult Education and Development Programmes—Mr. Anil Bordia
The District Development Centre: a Pilot Project on Integrated Education for Rural Development—Mr. T. Mulusa

2. Country Papers

Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Cyprus, Fiji, The Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, India, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Uganda, Tanzania, United Kingdom, Zambia.

FOR FURTHER READING

The following list has, for the most part, been confined to very recent publications. Topics can be traced back through the references given in many of these publications, and the indexing journals noted can be used both for retrospective searching and also for up-dating information.

The major English-language sources for up-dating information on non-formal education are:

British Education Index, v.1, 1954/58—
v.1 – 6, London, Library Association
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Indexes education journals published in Great Britain by subject and author.

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v.1 – , 1969 –
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References in non-medical journals can be traced in the usual education indexes: *British Education Index*, *Current Index to Journals in Education*, and *Resources in Education*.

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What is attempted here is a distillation of the collective wisdom of the New Delhi Conference on Non-Formal Education (January 1979) into a readable narrative. Some of the Conference papers are quoted in full: others are used as the basis for a discussion of the major current themes of non-formal education for development. Without the papers and the hard thinking that went into them, no book would have been possible. Without the Conference, their interpretation might well have been different. With the help of both, it is hoped that this book will provide both stimulation and guidance to non-formal educators in the important tasks which lie ahead.

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